

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
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FOI/PA# 1245937-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 34

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 6-7-63

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: JAMES BALDWIN

BACKGROUND:

We have received information to the effect that Baldwin, an author who has been critical of the Bureau and has been connected with communist front and integration activities, is allegedly preparing a statement concerning the FBI which supposedly "is going to nail them to the wall" and "is going to be like an atom bomb when it is dropped." A suggested statement by the Director which can be made in the event Baldwin should make false charges against the Bureau has previously been prepared and will be issued if the circumstances warrant. (WILL, OF COURSE, BE SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL.)

CURRENT DEVELOPMENT:

A review of today's television listing reflects that a program concerning the "Integration Crisis" will be heard this evening at 9:30 p. m. on local Channel 26. Baldwin will be interviewed by Kenneth Clark of the City College of New York. Also scheduled is a statement by Malcolm X, leader of the Black Muslims. Channel 26 is the local educational television station, WETA.

Arrangements have been made for the Laboratory to record this program at 9:30 this evening. A representative of the Crime Research Section will also be present at that time to monitor the program.

CONCERNING KENNETH CLARK

Baldwin and other individuals had a meeting with the Attorney General in New York City on May 24, 1963, at which time racial matters were discussed. One of those attending this meeting was a Dr. Kenneth Clark, who is a psychologist at the City College of New York. Clark has never been investigated by the Bureau. Clark has been very active in the integration movement as well as in the affairs of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In 1959, he was a member of the New York City Board of Education's Commission on Integration in the Schools. In 1954, [redacted] was reportedly staying at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Clark. [redacted] in 1958/

RECOMMENDATION:

For information:

- 1 - Mr. Tolson
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Conrad

CJH:jaf

55 JUN 17 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/16/89 BY 2028

CC MR. TOLSON

8. APPROX 1947

12 JUN 11 1963

62-108763

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: JAMES BALDWIN
TELEVISION INTERVIEW
JUNE 7, 1963

DATE: 6/7/63

Viper

Tolson	
Belmont	
Mohr	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
DeLoach	
Dyans	
Malone	
Rosen	
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

1-1 Mr. DeLoach

Leon Smith

A filmed interview of author James Baldwin and Malcolm X, Black Muslim, by Dr. Kenneth Clark was shown on Channel 26, WETA, on June 7, 1963, at 9:30 p.m. A 30-minute film of the Baldwin interview was shown first and followed by a 30-minute filmed interview of Malcolm X. It was announced prior to the films that the Baldwin interview was conducted "shortly after" Baldwin and other Negro leaders met with Attorney General Robert Kennedy in New York on May 24, 1963.

There was no reference to the FBI during these interviews. Baldwin made reference to the interview with the Attorney General stating that he was shocked at the lack of "real understanding" by the Attorney General of the Negro problem. Malcolm X made his reference to the Attorney General stating that he had talked to the wrong group; referring to Baldwin and the other Negro leaders, concerning the Negro problem.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Conrad

RWG:alk

(5)

63 JUN 21 1963

CE MR. TOLSON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/6/89 BY 2828 DDP

Tolson ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Casper ☒
 Callahan ☒
 Conrad ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 Evans ☒
 Gale ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel ☒
 Trotter ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holmes ☒
 Gandy ☒

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 DATE 5/16/89 BY SP8 BTJ/STJ
 [Handwritten signatures and initials]

UPI-212

(RACIAL)

BOSTON--NOVELIST JAMES BALDWIN FEELS THAT THE "SINISTER" APPEAL OF THE BLACK MUSLIMS IS GAINING MORE AND MORE ADHERENTS AMONG THE NATION'S NEGROES.

BALDWIN, A NEGRO, MADE THE STATEMENT IN AN INTERVIEW WITH DR. KENNETH CLARK, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY AT CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK, TAPED FOR BROADCAST TONIGHT (AT 10:30 P.M. EDT) OVER EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION STATIONS WGBH-TV, BOSTON, AND WNBT-TV, NEW YORK.

THE INTERVIEW WAS CONDUCTED LAST FRIDAY SHORTLY AFTER BALDWIN AND OTHER WELL KNOWN NEGRO WRITERS AND ARTISTS MET SECRETLY WITH ATTY. GEN. ROBERT F. KENNEDY TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT RACIAL CRISIS IN THE SOUTH.

BALDWIN REFERRED TO HIS TALK WITH KENNEDY ONLY ONCE. HE SAID HE TOLD THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, "I WOULD HAVE TROUBLE CONVINCING MY NEPHEW TO GO TO CUBA, FOR EXAMPLE, TO LIBERATE THE CUBANS IN DEFENSE OF A GOVERNMENT, WHICH NOW SAYS IT IS DOING EVERYTHING IT CAN DO, WHICH CANNOT LIBERATE ME."

BALDWIN, OF NEW YORK, AUTHOR OF THE BEST-SELLING "GO TELL IT ON THE MOUNTAIN" AND "THE FIRE NEXT TIME," SAID THE "GRASS ROOTS" APPEAL OF THE BLACK MUSLIMS STEMMED FROM THEIR LEADERS' ABILITY TO "ARTICULATE FOR ALL THE NEGRO PEOPLE WHO HEAR THEM...THEY ARTICULATE THEIR SUFFERING, THE SUFFERING WHICH HAS BEEN IN THIS COUNTRY SO LONG DENIED."

HE SAID MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM X'S "GREAT AUTHORITY OVER ANY OF HIS AUDIENCES" CAME FROM HIS ARTICULATENESS. "HE CORROBORATES THEIR REALITY; HE TELLS THEM THAT THEY REALLY EXIST..."

HE LABELED THE BLACK MUSLIMS' APPEAL "SINISTER" BECAUSE THE MOVEMENT SEEKS TO INVEST THE NEGROES "WITH FALSE MORALE BY GIVING THEM A FALSE SENSE OF SUPERIORITY, AND IT WILL ALWAYS BREAK DOWN IN A CRISIS."

BALDWIN DESCRIBED THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING LEADER OF THE NON-VIOLENT ANTI-SEGREGATIONIST MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH, AS "A VERY GREAT MAN...HE REALLY BELIEVES IN NON-VIOLENCE. HE HAS ARRIVED AT SOMETHING IN HIMSELF WHICH ALLOWS HIM TO DO IT, AND HE STILL HAS GREAT MORAL AUTHORITY IN THE SOUTH." HE HAS NONE WHATEVER IN THE NORTH.

5/28--N1130PED

162-108763 A

NOT RECORDED

149 JUN 13 1963

55 JUN 17 1963

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. Rosen

DATE: May 29, 1963

FROM : Mr. G. H. Scatterday

SUBJECT: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
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Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

SYNOPSIS:

On the attached clipping from the New York "Journal American" of 5-28-63, Mr. Tolson inquired as to information in our files concerning James Baldwin who recently met with the Attorney General.

Bureau files reveal that Baldwin, a Negro author, was born 8-2-24 in New York City and has lived and traveled in Europe. He has become rather well-known due to his writings dealing with the relationship of whites and Negroes. In 1960 he sponsored an advertisement of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and was identified as one of its prominent members. This group is a pro-Castro propaganda organization in the United States. In 1961 he sponsored a news release from the Carl Braden Clemency Appeal Committee distributed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). Braden was a communist convicted of contempt of the HCUA. In 1962 Baldwin signed a clemency petition for Junius Scales, a communist convicted under the Smith Act. In April, 1961, he sponsored a rally to abolish the HCUA.

Baldwin has supported organizations supporting integration and in 1961 reportedly stated a period of revolution confronted the world and only in revolution could the problems of the United States be solved. He has advocated the abolishment of capital punishment and criticized the Director stating

Enclosure

GHS:bep
(8)

REC-73

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. McGowan

62 JUN 25 1963

JUN 13 1963

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-16-89 BY [signature]

Conrad [signature]

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

that Mr. Hoover "is not a lawgiver, nor is there any reason to suppose him to be a particularly profound student of human nature. He is a law-enforcement officer. It is appalling that in this capacity he not only opposes the trend of history among civilized nations but uses his enormous power and prestige to corroborate the blindest and basest instincts of the retaliatory mob." He has also indicated he feels the Attorney General and the President have been ineffective in dealing with discrimination and in this connection has urged the removal of the Director.

ACTION:

For information. Information concerning Baldwin and the other individuals who participated in the recent conference with the Attorney General is being incorporated into informative memoranda for dissemination to the Attorney General.

DETAILS:

AS R V. JRMH
Summary *Negro* *C.P. Member*
NY
James Arthur Baldwin was born on August 2, 1924, in New York City to David Baldwin, a part-time clergyman, and Berdis Emma Baldwin, nee Jones. The eldest of nine children, James Baldwin was reared entirely in New York and in 1942 graduated from DeWitt Clinton High School where he served as a student judge and magazine editor. Baldwin has received many fellowships and awards which enabled him to live and write in Europe for approximately eight years during the 1950's. He has traveled to many other parts of the world including Palestine, Africa and many of the Asiatic countries.

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" contained an advertisement by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and Baldwin was one of the sponsors of the committee. The April 16, 1960, edition of "The Crusader" identified Baldwin as one of the prominent members of the committee. This Committee is a pro-Castro propaganda organization in the United States.

Baldwin spoke before a mass rally of the Washington, D. C., Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality for the "Original Freedom Riders" on 6-11-61 and stated in substance that the white race had better realize the emerging strength of the Negro and that he would not care to be in the shoes of the white man when the African nations become stronger.

The 10-2-61 issue of the "National Guardian" carried an advertisement of The Monroe Defense Committee listing Baldwin as one of the sponsors thereof. This committee was formed to tell the story of the racial violence which occurred in Monroe, North Carolina, on 8-27-61.

Baldwin was one of the authors of a letter to the editor in the 6-17-61 edition of the "New York Herald Tribune" which advocated the abolishment of capital punishment and in this connection he criticized the Director stating that Mr. Hoover "is not a lawgiver, nor is there any reason to suppose him to be a particularly profound student of human nature. He is a law-enforcement officer. It is appalling that in this capacity he not only opposes the trend of history among civilized nations but uses his enormous power and prestige to corroborate the blindest and basest instincts of the retaliatory mob."

The Liberation Committee for Africa held a celebration on 6-2-61 at which Baldwin was listed as one of the principal speakers. During his address he stated a period of revolution confronted the world and that America has taken a position throughout the world against revolutions, and then asserted that only in revolution could the problems of the United States be solved.

Baldwin's name appeared as a sponsor on a news release in August, 1961, from the Carl Braden clemency appeal committee which was being distributed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund. This organization is the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) as a communist front. Braden

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

was sentenced to prison for contempt of the HCUA.

The 1-10-63 issue of the "National Guardian" revealed that Baldwin was among the signers of a statement urging the Anti-Defamation League to withdraw its award, "democratic legacy," to President Kennedy unless the Department of Justice drops its "harassment" of William Worthy, Jr. Worthy is a Negro journalist who has been in trouble with United States officials as he traveled without a passport both through Red China and to Cuba.

The 4-17-61 issue of the "National Guardian" announced a rally to abolish the HCUA and Baldwin was listed as a sponsor of the rally. In April, 1962, Baldwin was among the 550 signers of a clemency petition for convicted communist Junius Scales who was convicted for violating the Smith Act.

The 5-17-63 issue of "Time" magazine devotes its cover to Baldwin and the magazine describes some of his recent efforts in behalf of integration. He is described as a "nervous, slight, almost fragile figure, filled with frets and fears. He is effeminate in manner, drinks considerably, smokes cigarettes in chains and he often loses his audience with overblown arguments." The May, 1963, issue of "Mademoiselle" contains an interview-type article with James Baldwin in which he gibes "to" both whites and Negroes concerning the Negro situation in the United States. During this article he indicated that he was illegitimate. On the subject of homosexuality, Baldwin states "American males are the only people I've ever encountered in the world who are willing to go on the needle before they'll go to bed with each other. Because they're afraid of this, they don't know how to go to bed with women either. I've known people who literally died out of this panic. I don't know what homosexual means any more, and Americans don't either... If you fall in love with a boy, you fall in love with a boy. The fact that Americans consider it a disease says more about them than it says about homosexuality."

In connection with a discussion of why he feels both Robert Kennedy, the Attorney General, the Justice Department and President Kennedy are ineffective in dealing with discrimination with the Negroes in the South, Baldwin makes the statement that he is weary of being told that desegregation is legal. He then states "...because first of all you have to get Eastland out of

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

Congress and get rid of the power that he wields there. You've got to get rid of J. Edgar Hoover and the power that he wields. If one could get rid of just those two men, or modify their power, there would be a great deal more hope..."

A United Press International release dated April 29, 1963, revealed that David Susskind was fired on that day by the Metropolitan Broadcasting Company and his television program "Open End" was being removed from the air. According to the news release a dispute between Susskind and the television broadcasting company started when Susskind announced plans to present author James Baldwin and singer Harry Belafonte on a program called "The American Negro Speaks His Mind." Officials of the television company objected to the program by Susskind on the basis that the combination of Baldwin and Belafonte "would not offer a broad enough basis of enlightened opinion."

THE RACIAL ISSUE

RFK in Fight Of His Life-- And Knows It

By WARREN ROGERS

N. Y. Journal-American Chief Washington Correspondent
With Hearst Headline Service

WASHINGTON: Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy is in the fight of his life, and he knows it. The racial issue will make or break him, and it may well decide his brother's place in history.

Bob Kennedy took over the Justice Department with some misgivings. He had listened to all the arguments against it—that he was too young, too untested as a lawyer, too close to the President to occupy Cabinet status, too inexperienced to handle all the myriad details of an excruciatingly difficult office.

In the end, after much soul-searching, he decided he could do it. And he surprised a number of his critics by doing a lot of it well. Except for the case of Jimmy Hoffa, where he has apparently bogged down in a pursuit as dogged and as fruitless as Hamlet's search for justice, the young man who managed his brother into the White House has managed his affairs exceedingly well.

Articulate Spokesman for U. S.

Bob Kennedy has been more than an Attorney General. He has been the ramrod behind much of America's foreign policy endeavors, notably the mess after the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the first decisive effort to settle the South Viet Nam problem. He emerged, in a trip around the world, as an articulate spokesman for American leadership of the newly developing nations.

But Bob Kennedy will be less than an Attorney General—at least in the judgment of history—if he does not solve the racial problem. It is, without any doubt, the gravest problem facing the country today.

There are clear signs that he is working at it, almost to the exclusion of anything else. He has been quietly holding meetings with various businessmen throughout the country in an effort to explain to them his feeling that—no matter how strong are the

Bobby Kennedy In Fight of His Life

Continued from First Page

prejudices of the people of their community—the American philosophy embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment must be maintained.

He had one disastrous sortie into the lofty levels of Negro intellectualism a few days ago. That was his meeting with James Baldwin, the bitter and brilliantly articulate spokesman for the Negro who says, "Integration now." Baldwin and others with whom Kennedy talked in New York did not budge an inch, and it now is clear the meeting might better not have been held.

He had another disastrous junket into hard-core segregationist territory. That was his session at Montgomery, Ala., with Alabama's Gov. George Wallace. Afterward, Kennedy came away shaking his head and saying it was like talking to a foreign government, which is just about the way he must have felt after his bout with Baldwin.

It can be predicted that, in the future, Bob Kennedy will not make such mistakes again. He has learned that little can be gained and much can be lost by trying to deal directly with people like Wallace and

Baldwin who are at the absolute opposite ends of the integration-segregation spectrum.

The key to the problem lies in between, with those whom the extremists on both sides call "Uncle Toms," "handkerchief heads," "radicals," "moderates," and much, much worse. The key also lies in the economic field. The greatest pressure for a solution in Birmingham was brought by U. S. Steel on its Birmingham subsidiary, Tennessee Coal and Iron.

Businessmen, whether big or little, whether local or absentee owned, are not going to stand idly by and watch a racial dispute destroy their businesses. It has happened in Little Rock, New Orleans, Birmingham, and wherever else the canker gnaws. It is here—among business, professional, clerical and other leaders who are not entirely bigoted, one way or the other—that solutions are going to be worked out. And they had better be.

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DATE 5/16/89 BY 2021513/2

ENCLOSURE

NEW YORK JOURNAL AMERICAN

New York, New York

5/28/63

what do our files show on James Baldwin?

On the Right:

Baldwin's Call To Color Blindness

By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

"**M**ARTIN LUTHER KING is a great man," James Baldwin said a week ago, "but he has come to the end of his rope." Baldwin is the Negro novelist and essayist and the principal catalyst of the policy of unconditional surrender (he wants the white population: 1. to give their power to the Negroes, 2. to renounce their civilization, and 3. to despise their God). He means that Dr. King has nowhere left to take his people by any of the conventional forms of protest. "Look about you," Baldwin says in effect, "and what do you see? A Supreme Court that outlawed segregated schools nine years ago, and a South that is still 91 per cent segregated; a Chicago—far, far away from the South—where 90 per cent of Negro children go to schools that are preponderantly Negro."



BUCKLEY

That is not the kind of progress that satisfies a man of the raw nervous temperament of James Baldwin; and so, with that crushing hortatory eloquence that no other writer living today can successfully imitate, he calls for the total liberation of the Negro, for the end of Christian civilization, and, beginning immediately, for personal action by the President. Two weeks ago he proposed to Robert Kennedy that JFK personally escort the two Negro students scheduled to enroll at the University of Alabama on June 10 over the protest of Gov. Wallace. Robert Kennedy is said to have laughed. This is no laughing matter, harrumphed the New York Times.

Indeed it isn't. It is a tragic matter, tragedy here defined as an irresistible force moving on collision course towards an immovable body. What Baldwin has asked for is nothing less than the evanescence of color. He wants the day to come—soon; if not by June 10, not long after; certainly within his lifetime—when color-consciousness will disappear, when you and I, entering a room, will not have noticed even at the time we leave, who there, if anyone, was black, who was white.

Moreover, in pursuing his goal of an end to racial self-consciousness, his instrument is, of all things, racial self-consciousness. He wants a mobilized Negro community who will view all life as Baldwin does, with direct relation to the goal of absolute integration.

Baldwin's Negro, every time he drinks a cup of coffee, must brood over the behavior of the white waitress who handed it to him—did she act unnaturally? Resentfully? Condescendingly? And every time he listens to Ella Fitzgerald sing, he must writhe in resentment over the racial tribulations that gave birth to the blues. In order to abolish a society of Black and Whites, it is necessary, Baldwin seems to be saying, for the Blacks to be 110 per cent Black.

Tolson ☒
DeLoach ☒
Mohr ☒
Casper ☒
Callahan ☒
Conrad ☒
Evans ☒
Gale ☒
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
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Trotter ☒
Tele Room ☒
Holmes ☒
Gandy ☒

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DATE 5/16/89 BY 288157J/ap

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star _____
New York Herald Tribune _____
New York Journal-American _____
New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
Date _____

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NOT RECORDED
149 JUN 14 1963

JUN 8 1963

58 JUN 18 1963

ASSUMING WE WERE willing to put the entire legal resources of this country at the disposal of James Baldwin, what would he do with them, to eliminate race prejudice? In his poignant essay threatening the whites with *The Fire Next Time* unless we now reform, he cites two typical humiliations, one from his early childhood, when an Irish policeman in downtown Manhattan yelled at him to go back to Harlem "where the Niggers belong," another that happened to him only last year, at age 38, when a bartender at the Chicago Airport refused to serve him a drink, affecting not to be able to tell whether he was over eighteen. How can such meanness be cured by legislation?

What shall we do, in the new order, to that policeman and that bartender? Shoot them? It is more to the point to shoot human nature, whence the troubles really come, but there seems to be no practicable way to do that.

If I am born different — whether a Negro like Baldwin, a hunchback like Quasimodo, a beauty like Elizabeth Taylor, or a conservative like myself — I shall be treated "differently." Sometimes that difference should be cherished (it is a fact that here and there a young Negro lawbreaker is dealt with more tolerantly because he has not had the same advantages as the white boy from the middle class neighborhood). So long as the eyes remark the difference between black and white, existential differences, of greater or lesser consequence, but of meaning just the same, will exist.

The job at hand is not to try to obliterate differences which only autohypnotic color blindness could achieve, but to stimulate man's capacity for love and his toleration, understanding, and respect for other, different people.

What is important about Baldwin is that he is a great artist, not that he is an evangelist of racial reconciliation. In the latter capacity he will, pursuing his present course, do great harm; in the former capacity, he has greatly raised the prestige of the Negro in the world of letters; that is a true step for this people.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. DeLoach ☒
 Mr. Evans _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

Rulton Lewis Jr.

FBI Impartial In Rights Cases

It is the anguished cry of James Baldwin that Attorney General Robert Kennedy could not "communicate" during their recent closed-door session held as a meeting of the minds on Americans racial problems.

There would have been even less communication, however, if Kennedy had heard the outlandish slander that Baldwin, prominent Negro author, had previously directed against the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Had Baldwin repeated his statements at their conference, the attorney general would undoubtedly have set the record straight. As much as any man, Bob Kennedy is cognizant of the job the FBI has performed in the civil rights field. The bureau, being strictly an investigative agency, doesn't side with segregationists or integrationists, despite what Baldwin and others charge. Southern racists assail the FBI as a Gestapo agency.

FBI investigations in this field are conducted thoroughly, promptly and impartially without apology to anyone. They are handled by special agents who have completed special training which specifically qualifies them to conduct civil rights investigations.

It is the FBI that has laid the groundwork for thousands of previously disenfranchised Negroes to register and vote. Bureau agents late last year conducted investigations involving more than 100 counties in which racial discrimination was reported to exist.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

14 THE DAILY OKLAHOMAN
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/89 BY 281534P

Date: JUNE 7 1963
 Edition: MORNING
 Author: RULTON LEWIS JR
 Editor:
 Title: CIVIL RIGHTS,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF
INVESTIGATION
 Character:
 or
 Classification:
 Submitting Office: OKLA CITY

162-108763
 NOT RECORDED
 149 JUN 17 1963

55 JUN 17 1963

July 6 - open

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
SEP 19 1963
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

URGENT 9-19-63 11-40 AM JLW
TO DIRECTOR
FROM SAC NEW YORK 100-146553 4P

JAMES BALDWIN

Security Matter

RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-16-89 BY 28151 JAG

ON NINE NINETEEN SIXTYTHREE, NEW YORK FOUR ZERO NINE NINE

ASTERISK ADVISED THAT ON THAT DATE CLARENCE JONES /COUNSEL TO MARTIN LUTHER KING/ AND JAMES BALDWIN /NEGRO AUTHOR/ HELD A DISCUSSION REGARDING BALDWIN-S APPEARANCE ON THE USIA TELEVISION PROGRAM IN WASHINGTON ON EIGHT TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYTHREE. JONES STATED THAT HE HAD REQUESTED FROM USIA-A TRANSCRIPT OF THE ENTIRE SHOW AND HAD RECEIVED THIS TRANSCRIPT AND NOTED THAT BALDWIN-S REMARKS REGARDING THE FBI AND MR. HOOVER WERE NOT CONTAINED THEREIN AND THEREFORE, JONES ASSUMED THAT THESE REMARKS HAD BEEN EDITED OUT. BALDWIN STATED THAT HE HAD WITNESSES TO THE STATEMENTS THAT HE HAD MADE ON THIS PROGRAM.

IN RECALLING HIS STATEMENT REGARDING THE (FBI) BALDWIN STATED THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF HIS REMARKS ON THIS PROGRAM WERE "PART OF THE PROBLEM IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS J. EDGAR HOOVER". JONES STATED THAT HE WOULD "LIKE TO BLOW THE WHISTLE ON THIS". JONES STATED

END PAGE ONE

59 OCT 8 1963

MR. BELMONT FOR THE DIRECTOR

FIVE-4pm
6-11

PAGE TWO

THAT ANY LEGITIMATE CRITICAL OPINION OF THE FBI IS APPARENTLY "OFF LIMITS OR TABOO". JONES FURTHER STATED THAT HE HAD COMPOSED A LETTER TO THE REST OF THE PARTICIPANTS ON THE USIA SHOW INFORMING THEM OF THE DELETION MADE. JONES THEN STATED THAT HE INTENDS TO INFORM THE USIA THAT HE KNOWS OF THE DELETION AND INTENDS ALSO TO BRING THIS INFORMATION TO THE ATTENTION OF THE PUBLIC AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. JONES CONTINUED THAT HE WAS GOING TO DO THIS IMMEDIATELY AND STATED THAT HE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO DRAFT A STATEMENT AND STATED "WE CANNOT LET THIS DELETION GO".

ADDITIONALLY, BALDWIN AND JONES DISCUSSED BALDWIN-S PUBLIC STATEMENT OF NINE EIGHTEEN SIXTYTHREE, ISSUED AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK CITY. ACCORDING TO THE "NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE" NINE NINETEEN SIXTYTHREE, BALDWIN IS QUOTED AS BITTERLY CRITICIZING THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION AND THE FBI FOR THEIR "LACK OF ACTION" FOLLOWING THE BIRMINGHAM BOMBING NINE FIFTEEN SIXTYTHREE. THE "NEW YORK TIMES" OF NINE NINETEEN SIXTYTHREE, ADDITIONALLY QUOTES BALDWIN AS SAYING "I BLAME J. EDGAR HOOVER IN PART FOR EVENTS IN ALABAMA. NEGROES HAVE NO CAUSE TO HAVE FAITH IN THE FBI". THIS SOURCE ALSO STATED THAT JONES TOLD BALDWIN THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A CALL FROM AN ATTORNEY "WHO WORKS IN AN OFFICE OF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT".

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

ACCORDING TO THIS SOURCE, THIS ATTORNEY ADVISED JONES THAT BALDWIN-S STATEMENT HAD CAUSED "QUITE A STIR", STATING FURTHER "YOU'RE GOING TO BE HEARING FROM US".

JONES FURTHER ADVISED BALDWIN THAT BALDWIN-S PRESS STATEMENTS WERE A MOST SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION. JONES FURTHER STATED THAT HE WAS DISTURBED OVER THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE OF NEGROE LEADERS WITH THE PRESIDENT SCHEDULED FOR NINE NINETEEN SIXTYTHREE. JONES FELT THAT THIS CONFERENCE COULD DO MORE HARM THAN GOOD. BALDWIN STATED THAT HE FELT THAT KENNEDY SHOULD GO TO ALABAMA AND JONES REPLIED "THE PRESIDENT CANNOT BE LET OFF THE HOOK ON THIS THING". JONES FURTHER ADDED THAT BALDWIN-S PRESS STATEMENT HAD BEEN A VERY VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION AND THAT IT REFLECTED THE GENERAL CONSENSUS OF OPINION OF THE MAJORITY OF NEGROES IN BIRMINGHAM. BALDWIN AGREED THAT THE FEELING EXISTED NOT ONLY IN BIRMINGHAM BUT ELSEWHERE. BALDWIN THEN SPOKE OF SOMETHING HIS SISTER HAD SAID TO HIS MOTHER, "NEGROES ARE THINKING SERIOUSLY OF ASSASSINATING MARTIN LUTHER KING". JONES THEN STATED THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE FEELING IN THE SOUTH IS ONE OF "CRISIS IN THE EFFICACY OF NON VIOLENT MOVEMENT".

IN A FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE BIRMINGHAM BOMBING JONES QUESTIONED THE "EFFICACY OF THE FBI IN CASES LIKE THIS". JONES STATED THAT THERE HAD BEEN FORTY FIVE TO FIFTY BOMBINGS SINCE NINETEEN FORTY SEVEN AND NOT ONE HAD BEEN SOLVED. HE FURTHER STATED THAT "THERE HAS BEEN A TOTAL ABSENCE OF FBI INFILTRATING RACIST ORGANIZATIONS".

117

01 936

PAGE FOUR

CORR PLS DELETE "SM-C" FROM TITEL OF CASE

P 2 L 16 WD 5 "ADDITIONALLY"

END

11-55 PM OK FBI WA RM

TU DISCO

CC: Mr. Rosen & Mr. Sullivan

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

Administration in Cold Sweat Over Rising Negro Militancy

By Fred Halstead

MAY 29 — The meeting in New York on May 24 between Attorney General Robert Kennedy and a group of Negroes invited by novelist James Baldwin has thrown a scare into the Kennedy administration. The meeting was designed as part of the attempt of the Kennedys to head off and control the struggle for Negro equality and keep it within the bounds of gradualism. But it did not work out that way.

The Negroes present gave Kennedy a glimpse of the real mood of the country's black masses and the attorney general's reaction exposed his prejudice, arrogance and ignorance, as well as his unwillingness to commit the government to the necessary fundamental changes. The meeting reportedly ended with a young Negro Freedom Rider shaking his finger angrily in Kennedy's face.

The gathering had been arranged by Baldwin on Robert Kennedy's suggestion after the novelist had written Kennedy criticising the administration's lack of forthright action in Birmingham. With the attorney general's approval, Baldwin invited about a dozen guests, mostly his personal friends, including the following Negroes: Harry Bela-



James Baldwin

The Jackson Story

For background on the explosive events in the Jackson, Miss., civil-rights battleground, see story on page 3.

*mc [signature]
 W.B. Smith*

162-108763-A
 NOT RECORDED
 149 JUN 27 1963

*File
 6-11-63*

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star _____
 New York Herald Tribune _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Mirror _____
 New York Daily News _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times _____
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 Date 6-3-63
 The Militant
 Page 1

141
 5 6 JUN 28 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/16/82 BY 288 [signature]

... Rising Negro Militancy

(Continued from Page 1)

gle for Negro equality is threatening to upset the white power structure, the establishment, the U.S. capitalist system — they are but different phrases for the same thing — and Kennedy is loyal above all to the white power structure. It is this that blinds him and that makes him an enemy, not a friend, of the desires of the Afro-American masses for fundamental change.

For Kennedy, the meeting was a fiasco. Instead of being publicized in Northern papers as a good fellow willing to rub shoulders with Negro intellectuals, Robert Kennedy stands exposed for just what he is — an arrogant, imperialistic, ignorant, spoiled-rich, prejudiced white man. All proportions guarded, the meeting was — so to speak — Bobby Kennedy's very own little Playa Giron.

The newspaper columnists were still commenting on "the New York conversations" when a fresh example of the militant mood among Northern Negroes about which Baldwin was talking ap-

peared in Philadelphia. Pickets organized by the local NAACP have been stopping trucks and workers from entering the site of a school-construction project because some of the building trade craft unions bar Negroes. Police broke through the picket line May 28 to allow some workers to enter, but trucks carrying supplies to the site were stopped. Declared Cecil Moore, president of the local NAACP chapter, which is demanding job rights for Negroes, "We'll picket the entire city. There are not enough police to stop us."

LOS ANGELES, May 26 — This city's largest-ever civil-rights rally took place at Wrigley Field, in the heart of the Negro ghetto today. More than 30,000 persons turned out at a rally organized by the local NAACP and supported by more than 40 organizations, including ten international unions. Martin Luther King, featured speaker and hero of the day, demanded that President John F. Kennedy escort the two Negro students into the University of Alabama.

Dick Gregory, still nursing bruises received in the Birmingham jail, also spoke. "I believe in non-violence along with Rev. King," he said, "and many people accuse all Negroes of carrying switchblade knives — which just isn't true. However, I am an exception and I hope Martin Luther King doesn't ask me to give it up, because I would just hate to refuse Rev. King."

SAN FRANCISCO, May 26 — More than 20,000 persons took part in a parade and rally here today in sympathy with Negroes in Alabama. Twelve thousand marched through the downtown area. Marchers carried signs denouncing segregation in the South and job discrimination in the north.

fonte; Lena Horne; playwright Lorraine Hansberry; Professor Kenneth Clark; Chicago Urban League director, Dr. Edwin C. Berry; Attorney Clarence B. Jones; and Jerome Smith of New Orleans, a 25-year-old veteran of CORE direct-action projects. In addition, Baldwin invited a few white friends and Robert Kennedy brought along Burke Marshall, a special assistant on civil rights.

Baldwin later told the press that the plan was to discuss the situation in the North, and that he tried to impress on the attorney general that Northern as well as Southern Negroes are fed up. The federal government, said Baldwin, must take an "unequivocal moral stand" against segregation and take "radical and forceful" action if a possibly bloody racial collision is to be avoided. But, said Baldwin, "We couldn't get through."

Baldwin said that when it was proposed that President Kennedy personally escort Negro students into the University of Alabama, the attorney general "just laughed." "He didn't get the point at all," said Baldwin.

Baldwin said the Negroes finally "got through" the Kennedy reserve when the question of the Negro attitude toward Cuba was brought up. Dr. Clark said that was the point at which the meeting turned from a conversation to a stormy argument for the rest of

the three-hour session, with Kennedy on one side and the Negroes on the other.

Dr. Clark reported that Jerome Smith — who has faced Southern racist police — said he felt "nauseous" at having to beg the attorney general for protection from segregationist violence. Smith declared he felt no moral obligation to help the federal government "liberate" Cuba while the federal government refused to liberate the Negroes in this country.

At this point, Clark reported, Robert Kennedy expressed shock and outrage. "We were shocked that he was shocked," said Clark, "and that he seemed genuinely unable to understand what Smith was trying to say."

Clark said a "recurrent theme" of the session was the point that the Kennedy administration's actions on civil rights are based on Democratic Party political considerations rather than on a moral commitment against segregation. Kennedy spent his time explaining how gains could gradually be made here and there in discussions with "moderate" whites.

Said Clark: "There were times when we just broke out into hysterical laughter. It was the laughter of desperation. I didn't know whether to laugh or cry or both. We were unable to communicate clearly and skillfully that this was a group of Negroes begging

the white power structure to be nice to Negroes. We were trying to say that this was an emergency for our country, as Americans. This never got over."

Kennedy was told that since "the FBI uses Southern agents in investigations of civil-rights abuses, the role of the FBI is coercive rather than protective" to Negroes. Dr. Clark said Kennedy wouldn't answer this point, and that "at one point Lena Horne asked him straight out: 'Are you not the boss of the FBI?'"

A Shocker

Kennedy's shocking attitude may be judged from the following report by *New York Post* columnist James Wechsler who interviewed Dr. Clark at length about the meeting: "The tension slowly increased. When discussion arose of the impact of recent events on male Southern Negroes, playwright Lorraine Hansberry exploded. She said the country ought to be worrying about the 'specimens of white manhood' recently immortalized in photographs showing their knees on the breasts of Negro women who had been dragged to the ground. Then she walked out, and didn't return."

Searching for a positive note about the meeting, Dr. Clark declared: "The fact that Bobby Kennedy sat through such an ordeal for three hours proves he is among the best the white power structure has to offer."

But the point is that the struggle...
(Continued on Page 2)



Robert F. Kennedy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Rosen
1-Mr. Malley
1-Mr. McGowan
1-Mr. Lavin
1-Mr. Mohr
1-Mr. DeLoach
1-Mr. Evans

June 6, 1963

BY COURIER SERVICE

62-108763

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. O'Donnell:

Attached for your information is a memorandum prepared by our New York Office dated June 4, 1963, setting forth information concerning a discussion held by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Clarence Jones and Stanley Levison on June 1 and 2, 1963. Levison and Jones are more fully identified in the memorandum.

In addition to the information contained in the memorandum, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on June 4, 1963, that on June 4, 1963, Stanley Levison was in contact with Clarence Jones. Levison inquired of Jones when "Phil," presumably A. Philip Randolph, was coming back. Jones indicated that "Phil" was at the Hamilton Hotel in Chicago and would return on Thursday. Jones indicated that "Phil's" reaction was positive but desired to know to what extent the employment issue would be played up and that "Phil" thought it would be "anticlimatic to have a march in October."

Jones indicated to Levison that "Phil" wants to talk to "Martin," presumably Martin Luther King, Jr., and added that he, Jones, has been unable to reach "Martin." Jones felt that "Martin" should call "Phil."

BY COURIER SVC.

47 JUN-6

COMM-FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DECLASSIFIED BY 5116/109

GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND
DECLASSIFICATION

RBL:cag (10)

58 JUN 27 1963

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D-READING ROOM

FBI

JUN 6 5 27 PM '63

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-34-96

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell

Jones also indicated to Levison that he had spent all day Sunday and Sunday evening with James Baldwin and that he had gone into some detail with Baldwin concerning political action this summer. Jones commented to Levison that if King issues a statement then he, Baldwin, would like to know about it because he would also issue a statement supporting it, and he believes such action might be helpful.

Jones indicated to Levison that the statement would be made around the 12th. Jones stated that Baldwin agrees with the statement very much which is the important thing. Baldwin reportedly gave Jones a blank check to do whatever he wanted to in his name.

Jones informed Levison of a statement that Baldwin is preparing and mentioned to Levison, "I have seen some statements on the FBI but I have never seen one like this. He (Baldwin) is going to nail them to the wall." Levison inquired if this was because of the questioning of the people who were at the meeting, which presumably refers to a conference the Attorney General held in New York on May 24, 1963. Jones told Levison that Baldwin's statement was not because of the alleged interviews of persons at the meeting but was because of the harassment of himself and Baldwin reportedly told Jones that "This is going to be like an atomic bomb when it is dropped." Levison agreed with this, commenting that "It really will because he (Baldwin) is a name in the news." Levison then asked Jones, "Have they been harassing him? What idiots, how idiotic."

It should be noted that an allegation had previously been made that Agents of our New York Office had attempted to enter Mr. Baldwin's apartment on May 27, 1963, and the further allegation had been made that persons attending the conference on May 24, 1963, had been interviewed by Agents following the conference. Both allegations are completely without foundation. In addition, we have not conducted any investigation of Baldwin and he has not been harassed in any way by Agents of this Bureau.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell

Levison then commented to Jones that there is only one thing that bothers him about Baldwin's statements. Levison stated, "I think he is overstating the situation in the North. There is more of a kind of poetic exaggeration." Jones replied, "There is some poetic exaggeration, that is true." Levison then commented, "It troubles me because what it can lead to is the expectation of something and when something less occurs, it leads to an attitude of well, now they have miscalculated. I just do not have the same feeling about the intensity of attitudes here." Jones replied, "He (Baldwin) and I differ on this, but he feels strongly about it."

Our source indicated that Levison and Jones next discussed a forthcoming article to appear in "The Saturday Evening Post" concerning Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Levison indicated that King was apprehensive about the article because the interviewer appeared to be somewhat hostile. Levison informed Jones that he had spoken to the public relations man from "The Saturday Evening Post" and Levison is of the opinion that the forthcoming article may only be generally favorable to Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

As additional information is obtained concerning the plans of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Jones and Levison, this information will be promptly brought to your attention.

The Attorney General is being furnished a copy of the attached New York memorandum and the information set forth above.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

NOTE: This memorandum is being classified "~~Confidential~~" because it contains information from a source, the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the Communist Party, USA, and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECODED COPY

Tolson	
Belmont	
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Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
DeLoach	
Evans	
Gale	
Rosen	
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

URGENT 6-6-63 12:40 AM SAV/DE
 TO DIRECTOR -2-
 FROM SAC, NEW YORK 052230

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-16-89 BY 883 BJS/afp

CONFERENCE WITH ATTORNEY GENERAL, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 24, 1963,
 CIVIL RIGHTS MATTERS. MARTIN LUTHER KING, RACIAL MATTERS.

REFERENCE NEW YORK TELETYPE TO BUREAU DATED MAY 29, 1963
 AND NEW YORK AIRTEL TO BUREAU DATED JUNE 4, 1963.

ON JUNE 4, 1963 NY 3810-S* ADVISED ON ABOVE DATE THAT
 STANLEY LEVISON WAS IN CONTACT WITH CLARENCE JONES. LEVISON
 INQUIRED WHEN "PHIL" (A. PHILIP RANDOLPH) WAS COMING BACK.
 JONES SAID HE WAS AT THE HAMILTON HOTEL IN CHICAGO, COMING
 BACK ON THURSDAY. JONES SAID "PHIL'S" REACTION WAS POSITIVE
 BUT WANTED TO REFLECT TO WHAT EXTENT THE EMPLOYMENT ISSUE SHOULD
 BE PLAYED UP. HE (PHIL) FELT IT WOULD BE "ANTI CLIMATIC TO HAVE
 A MARCH IN OCTOBER." JONES SAID THAT "PHIL" WANTS TO TALK TO
 MARTIN "LUTHER KING" AND ADDED THAT HE, JONES, HAS BEEN UNABLE
 TO REACH MARTIN. JONES FELT THAT MARTIN SHOULD CALL PHIL.

JONES ALSO STATED THAT HE SPENT ALL DAY SUNDAY AND SUNDAY
 EVENING WITH JAMES BALDWIN. HE TOLD LEVISON THAT HE WENT INTO
 SOME DETAIL WITH BALDWIN ABOUT SOME OF THE THINKING FOR POLITICAL
 ACTION THIS SUMMER. JONES SAID THAT IF MARTIN (KING) ISSUES HIS
 STATEMENT THEN BALDWIN WOULD LIKE TO KNOW BECAUSE HE, BALDWIN,
 WOULD ALSO ISSUE A STATEMENT SUPPORTING IT, AND BELIEVES IT
 MIGHT BE HELPFUL. JONES TOLD LEVISON "I TOLD HIM IT (THE STATE-
 MENT) WOULD BE AROUND THE TWELFTH." JONES SAID "HE (BALDWIN)
 AGREES WITH IT VERY MUCH WHICH IS THE IMPORTANT THING." JONES
 COMMENTED THAT BALDWIN SORT OF GAVE HIM A BLANK CHECK TO DO
 WHATEVER HE WANTED IN HIS NAME.

JONES NEXT INFORMED LEVISON OF A STATEMENT THAT BALDWIN IS
 PREPARING. "I HAVE SEEN SOME STATEMENTS OF THE FBI BUT I HAVE

*FOIA b7C
 b7D
 6/10/63
 RBK*

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-341

*1- AG
 1- Dept AG
 1- Mr. Tolson
 1- Mr. DeLoach
 1- Mr. Mohr
 1- Mr. Casper
 1- Mr. Callahan
 1- Mr. Conrad
 1- Mr. Evans
 1- Mr. Gale
 1- Mr. Rosen
 1- Mr. Sullivan
 1- Mr. Tavel
 1- Mr. Trotter
 1- Tele. Room
 1- Mr. Holmes
 1- Miss Gandy*

62-108763-10
 NOT RECORDED
 199 JUN 24 1963
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 6/10/63
 RBK*

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
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Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE TWO FROM SAC, NEW YORK 052230

NEVER SEEN ONE LIKE THIS. HE (BALDWIN) IS GOING TO NAIL THEM TO THE WALL." LEVISON INQUIRED "BECAUSE OF THE QUESTIONING OF THE PEOPLE WHO WERE AT THE MEETING." JONES REPLIED "NO, BECAUSE OF THE HARRASSMENT OF HIMSELF. THIS IS GOING TO BE LIKE AN ATOMIC BOMB WHEN IT IS DROPPED." LEVISON THEN COMMENTED "IT REALLY WILL BECAUSE HE IS A NAME IN THE NEWS." LEVISON THEN ASKED "HAVE THEY BEEN HARASSING HIM. WHAT IDIOTS, HOW IDIOTIC."

CONTINUING, LEVISON THEN COMMENTED THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE THING THAT BOTHERS HIM ABOUT SOME OF HIS (BALDWIN) STATEMENTS. "I THINK HE IS OVERSTATING THE SITUATION IN THE NORTH. THERE IS MORE OF A KIND OF POETIC EXAGGERATION." JONES REPLIED "THERE IS SOME POETIC EXAGGERATION, THAT IS TRUE." LEVISON COMMENTED "IT TROUBLE ME BECAUSE WHAT IT CAN LEAD TO IS THE EXPECTATION OF SOMETHING AND WHEN SOMETHING LESS OCCURS, IT LEADS TO AN ATTITUDE OF WELL, NOW THEY HAVE MISCALCULATED. I JUST DO NOT HAVE THE SAME FEELING ABOUT THE INTENSITY OF ATTITUDES HERE." JONES REPLIED "HE (BALDWIN) AND I DIFFER ON THIS, BUT HE FEELS ^{VERY} STRONGLY ABOUT IT."

INFORMANT ADVISED THAT LEVISON AND JONES NEXT DISCUSSED A FORTHCOMING ARTICLE TO APPEAR IN "THE SATURDAY EVENING POST" CONCERNING MARTIN LUTHER KING. LEVISON COMMENTED THAT KING WAS APPREHENSIVE ABOUT THE ARTICLE BECAUSE THE INTERVIEWER APPEARED SOMEWHAT HOSTILE. LEVISON INFORMED JONES THAT HE HAD SPOKEN TO THE PUBLIC RELATIONS MAN FROM "THE SATURDAY EVENING POST" AND LEVISON IS OF THE OPINION THAT THE FORTHCOMING ARTICLE MAY ONLY BE GENERALLY FAVORABLE TO MARTIN (LUTHER KING).

RECEIVED: 1:22 AM JGE

GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

9/19/63

Civil Rights Division being telephonically advised, and information will be furnished in writing to Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall. U.S. Information Agency will be appropriately advised through Liaison Section.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-16-89 BY 28857 JAL

FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: 9/24/63

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-146553)
SUBJECT: JAMES BALDWIN
RACIAL MATTERS
SM - C

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4/KML
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 9/24/85

6078

Enclosed herewith are ten (10) copies of a letterhead memo reflecting the conversation between CLARENCE JONES and JAMES BALDWIN, as received by NY 4099-S* on 9/19/63.

The source utilized to characterize CLARENCE JONES is _____
Also used to characterize CLARENCE JONES is _____.

The letterhead memo is classified "~~Secret~~" due to the extreme sensitive nature of NY 4099-S*. The unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source and thereby impair investigation of subversive matters, which could be injurious to the national defense.

Characterization of CLARENCE JONES is listed at the end of the memo in order to insure continuity of the memo.

ENCLOSURE
5 - Bureau (ENCLS. 10) (RM)
1 - (1-100-407018) (CLARENCE JONES)
1 - (1-100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
1 - Birmingham (157-867) (ENCLS. 1) (INFO) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-5586) (ENCLS. 1) (INFO) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (RM)
1 - New York (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES)
1 - New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (as required)
1 - New York (100-146553) (Agency G-2, ONI, OSI, CRD, IS, U.S.I.A.)

DECLASSIFIED BY 342 PWT/LS
ON 10/12/89

81-0802 Marrow/King
DP8 DTJ/K
5-16-80 203235
C. Brennan

JPD:mld
(12)

Date Forw. 9-24-63

How Forw. REC-104

XEROX
OCT 3 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Approved: _____ BY _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

OCT 14 1963

SUBV. CONTROL

CONFIDENTIAL

100-106670-
b6
b7C
b7D

UNRECORDED COPY OF ENCL. FILE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
September 24, 1963

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

New York 100-146553

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 3042 PWT/SL
ON 10/12/88

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Richard J. Sullivan
DATE 12/17/85

Re: James Baldwin
Racial Matters; -
Security Matter - C

81-0802 Narrow King
DP 81073108
5-16-89
292325

On September 19, 1963, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on that date Clarence Jones (Counsel to Martin Luther King) and James Baldwin (Negro author) held a discussion regarding Baldwin's appearance on the USIA television program in Washington on August 28, 1963. Jones stated that he had requested from USIA a transcript of the entire show and had received this transcript and noted that Baldwin's remarks regarding the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Mr. Hoover were not contained therein and therefore Jones assumed that these remarks had been edited out. Baldwin stated that he had witnesses to the statements that he had made on this program. In recalling his statement regarding the FBI, Baldwin stated that the substance of his remarks on this program were "part of the problem in the civil rights movement is J. Edgar Hoover". Jones then stated that he would "like to blow the whistle on this". Jones stated that any legitimate critical opinion of the FBI is apparently "off limits or taboo". Jones further stated that he had composed a letter to the rest of the participants on the USIA show informing them of the deletion made. Jones then stated that he intends to inform the USIA that he knows of the deletion and intends also to bring this information to the attention of the public and the Attorney General. Jones continued that he was going to do this immediately and stated that he would also like to draft a statement and stated "we cannot let this deletion go".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group I

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY SP4 XPH/ML
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE 9-24-83
DECLASSIFICATION
6076

DECLASSIFIED BY 1080
ON 11/17/77
9443 EBT/ML 12/1/77

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

James Baldwin

Additionally, Baldwin and Jones discussed Baldwin's public statement of September 18, 1963, issued at a press conference in New York City. According to the "New York Herald Tribune", September 19, 1963, Baldwin is quoted as bitterly criticizing the Kennedy Administration and the FBI for their "lack of action" following the Birmingham bombing, September 15, 1963. The "New York Times" of September 19, 1963, additionally quotes Baldwin as saying "I blame J. Edgar Hoover in part for events in Alabama. Negroes have no cause to have faith in the FBI". This source also stated that Jones told Baldwin that he had received a call from an attorney "who works in an office of the Justice Department". According to this source, this attorney advised Jones that Baldwin's statement had caused "quite a stir", stating further "you're going to be hearing from us".

Jones further advised Baldwin that Baldwin's press statements were a most significant contribution. Jones further stated that he was disturbed over the proposed conference of Negro leaders with the President scheduled for September 19, 1963. Jones felt that this conference could do more harm than good. Baldwin stated that he felt that Kennedy should go to Alabama and Jones replied "the President cannot be let off the hook on this thing". Jones further added that Baldwin's press statement had been a very valuable contribution and that it reflected that general consensus of opinion of the majority of Negroes in Birmingham. Baldwin agreed that the feeling existed not only in Birmingham but elsewhere. Baldwin then spoke of something his sister had said to his mother, "Negroes are thinking seriously of assassinating Martin Luther King". Jones then stated that he believed that the feeling in the South is one of "crisis in the efficacy of non-violent movement".

In a further discussion of the Birmingham bombing Jones questioned the "efficacy of the FBI in cases like this". Jones stated that there had been 45 to 50 bombings since 1947 and not one had been solved. He further stated that "there has been a total absence of FBI infiltrating racist organizations".

~~SECRET~~

James Baldwin

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

As of July 3, 1963, Clarence Jones was the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

A second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on February 26, 1957, he identified a photograph of Clarence Jones as the person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954, to be a member and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL). *Q u*

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Q u A third confidential source on August 20, 1963, advised that Clarence Jones was at that time Counsel to Reverend Martin Luther King.

~~SECRET~~

- 3 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: 9/30/63

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-146553)

SUBJECT: JAMES BALDWIN
RACIAL MATTERS
SM - C

Agency G-2, ONI, OSI, CRD, *(neg)*Date Forw. *10/2/63*How Forw. *air*By *HAC/Jan**1cc Org Unit
2cc District*DECLASSIFIED BY *69124EP/08*
ON *2/17/99**CA97-5269*

Enclosed herewith are 9 copies of a letterhead memorandum reflecting a conversation between CLARENCE JONES and JAMES BALDWIN as received by NY 4099-S* on 9/29/63.

First source is NY 4099-S*.

The source utilized to characterize CLARENCE JONES is [redacted] LYL, in 1954.

Also used to characterize CLARENCE JONES is NY 4092-S*.

The third source used to characterize [redacted] and the organization "Procept for Peace" is [redacted] *QU*

The information furnished by [redacted] was furnished to SA ARTHUR B. FULTON.

- ENCLOSURE**
- 4 - Bureau (Encls. 9) (RM)
(1 - 100-407081) (CLARENCE JONES)
1 - New York (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES)
1 - New York

C G. WBS:bca
(8)

ST-104**REC-10****OCT 1 1963**

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M. Per _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~SUBV CONTROL~~

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-146553

The letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~" due to the extreme sensitive nature of NY 4099-S*, The unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source and thereby impair investigation of subversive matters, which could have an injurious effect to the national defense.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1964 7 1968



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
September 30, 1963

~~SECRET~~

James Baldwin

On September 29, 1963, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that James Baldwin (Negro author) on the same date, discussed with Clarence Jones, problems he is having with [redacted] *ALB 100*

[redacted] Baldwin stated that [redacted] and [redacted] have been "camping on his doorstep" and watching people enter and leave his residence and have even threatened him. *b6 b7C*

Baldwin stated that [redacted] came to his office and told him they had Photostats of documents indicating that there may be some "money involved", then showed Baldwin that they are authorized to represent Baldwin in his planned "rent strike".

[redacted] said they had a note which he, Baldwin, had written from the stage of a church during a rally in which he, Baldwin, agreed to pay [redacted] to handle the "rent strike" activities. *b6 b7C*

~~SECRET~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

*367 VCT-145
9-21-81
88 815 T 1028
5-16-82*

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

James Baldwin

Baldwin told Jones that they had threatened that if he did not pay for the printing of the "leaflets" that they would present this material and other damaging information to the police. Baldwin said he agreed to meet with them at [redacted] at 10:00 p.m. and wanted Jones to accompany him.

b6
b7c

Jones agreed to accompany Baldwin to his meeting with [redacted]. Jones then contacted [redacted] 10th Precinct, New York City Police Department and told him that [redacted] and [redacted] were to extort money from his client and that he and his client were to meet with them tonight. [redacted] asked that Jones and his client meet with him so that he could accompany them to the meeting with [redacted].

As of July 3, 1963, Clarence Jones was the General Counsel for The Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

The second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 26, 1957, he identified a photograph of Clarence Jones as the person whom he knew during late 1953 or early, 1954 to be a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL).

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

James Baldwin

A third source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 16, 1963, that [redacted] a Negro male youth, who is a race driver and [redacted] a young Negro author are both members of an organization known as "Procept for Peace". This organization is a new well financed group in New York City in the integration movement. The group appears to favor civil rights and integration but source feels that this group advocates violence and their true aim is to disrupt integration.

b6
b7C

The August 2, 1963 edition of the "New York Mirror", a daily newspaper, published in New York City, contained an article on page 2, related to arrests at various sites in New York City being picketed by civil rights groups. This article reflected that one Arthur Meynard, age 25, Negro, who gave his address as "Africa", was arrested and charged with felonious assault, for scuffling with a police officer at the construction site of a downstate medical center at Brooklyn, New York. A scuffle occurred when the police seized four cartons of eggs apparently for pelting police, according to the article.

[redacted] Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department, advised on August 16, 1963, that "Procept for Peace" began operating in New York City during the past week and travels to civil rights demonstrations and gatherings where they offer to assist in picketing for a fee of one dollar.

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: "THE FIRE NEXT TIME"
BY JAMES BALDWIN

DATE: October 3, 1963

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
- (Attn: [redacted])
- 1 - Mr. Phillips
- 1 - Mr. Morley

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

b6

b7C

Subject book, published in 1963 by The Dial Press, Inc., New York City, consists of two articles by Baldwin which were previously published in magazines. Both articles strongly advocate integration.

I. "My Dungeon Shook"

James

In this brief article Baldwin compares Harlem living conditions where he was reared to those described by Charles Dickens existing in London over 100 years ago. Today, with integration, Baldwin says the Negroes must force the whites to stop fleeing from reality and begin to change those conditions.

II. "Down at the Cross" (originally published under the title "Letter from a Region in My Mind")

This lengthy article again mentions Baldwin's past life in Harlem. He had been a preacher on occasion (no mention of being ordained) until he became disillusioned with Christianity. He refers to Christ as a "disreputable sunbaked Hebrew." Baldwin continues: "If the concept of God has any validity or any use, it can only be to make us larger, freer, and more loving. If God cannot do this, then it is time we got rid of Him." Baldwin does not say how. Baldwin does not regard the Negro as inferior to the whites and says the only thing the white man has that the Negro needs is power. He contends the blacks and whites need each other if we are to become a nation and if integration is to be achieved. If the relatively conscious whites and blacks do not falter in their duty to work toward integration, he says, it may be possible to end the racial nightmare. If, on the other hand, they do not try everything to achieve that goal, then "the fulfillment of that prophesy, re-created from the Bible in song by a slave, is upon us: God gave Noah the rainbow sign, no more water, the fire next time!"

The Director and the Bureau are not mentioned in the book.

- 1 - 100-3-116 (CPUSA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters)

62-108763

JFM:mis

(7)

59 OCT 30 1963

EX-114

REC-5 6-2-108763-1

3 OCT 18 1963

INT. SEC.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-116

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-16-89 BY 8825068

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: "THE FIRE NEXT TIME"
BY JAMES BALDWIN
62-108763

Bureau files indicate Baldwin, who was born in 1924 in New York City, has been very active and vocal in the integration movement and his writings deal primarily with that situation. He has lent his name to subversive causes and has been critical of the Director. He has not been investigated.

ACTION:

None. File.

Am

WCS *Ch*

10/4

TRUE COPY



October 24, 1963

b6
b7C

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Chief
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-16-89 BY 2587 BJS/af

There are quite a few things that come to ones
mind these days, and one is, who will be chief after you retire?
Do you have a trained man who is not a liberal minded fellow
to step in?

Then too, is it a true fact that the founder of the
NAACP died a full fledged communist? or is this propaganda?

Also, I wonder about this fellow James Baldwin who
writes for "The Worker." An evangelist who spoke at our church kept
quoting him. Are you allowed to tell us if a man is a known communist?

Thank you, and know one thing, you have been the one
big hope for our future for a long time. It worries us to see time go
by and retirement nearing for you.

Yours truly,



b6
b7C

ITC
10-29-63
ack
10-20-63
SCF:mla
mmf

REC-16

162-108763
25 NOV 4 1963

EX

Handwritten signature

October 24, 1963

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Chief
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-16-89 BY SP8 DJS/af

Dear Mr. Hoover:

There are quite a few things that come to ones
mind these days, and one is, who will be chief
after you retire? Do you have a trained man who is
not a liberal minded fellow to step in?

Then too, is it a true fact that the founder of
the NAACP died a full fledged communist? Or
is this propaganda?

Also, I wonder about this fellow James Baldwin
who writes for "The Worker". An evangelist who
spoke at our church kept questioning him. Are you
allowed to tell us if a man is a known communist?

Thank you, and know one thing, you have
been the one big hope for our future for a
long time. It worries us to see him go by and return
leaving for you.

Yours truly,

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

NT
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE
DATE: 10/

DATE: 10/28/63

SEE REVERSE
SIDE FOR
CLASSIFICATION
ACTION

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____ b6
Holmes _____ b7C
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: JAMES BALDWIN
RACIAL MATTERS
SECURITY MATTER - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5 BY

Reference is made to letter from [redacted]
[redacted] Office of Security, United States Information Agency
(USIA), to the Director dated October 11, 1963. Therein [redacted]
[redacted] expresses appreciation for receipt of information
contained in our memorandum of September 24, 1963, captioned as
above and setting forth information indicating that Baldwin
contemplated protesting certain deletions made by USIA in a
videotape of a round-table discussion concerning the March-on-
Washington, August 28, 1963.

In reference letter, [] points out that Baldwin's remarks were edited because they amounted to attacks on the Director and Senator James Eastland. He pointed out that it is the established policy of the Director of USIA that if any individual is attacked by name on a television program, some answer to the attack, or some statement of a contrary view, must be included. There being none in this instance, such remarks on the part of Baldwin were edited. ~~S-157~~ (u)

At the request of the Domestic Intelligence Division, Liaison contacted [redacted] on October 24, 1963, and requested information as to the nature of Baldwin's remarks regarding the Director. On October 25, [redacted] furnished the following verbatim excerpt, which remarks were made by Baldwin during a discussion of the Negro problem and obstacles confronting the Negro:

"It will be a matter of attacking really, J. Edgar Hoover, and asking very rude questions such as why the

1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Sullivan
1-Mr. Sizoo
1-Mr. Baumgardner

1-Mr. W. P. Jones
1-Liaison
1-Mr. McDonnell

WJM:mer (8)

Classified by 1500

Classified by _____
Declassify on: _____

52 12.02 11 23
12 NOV 5 1963

~~SECRET~~

PERS. REC. UNITE

60 NOV 14 1963

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: JAMES BALDWIN
RACIAL MATTERS
SECURITY MATTER - C

FBI can find a 'junkie' but cannot find a man who bombs the homes of Negro leaders in the deep south. They still have not found anyone. These are the questions that one has to be confronted with now. One has got to deal with the fact that if you liberate Negroes in the ghettos of harlem, you have to change New York City."

ACTION:

None. The above is submitted for information and no further action is deemed warranted.

gal *WES* *V* *Q* *JA*

~~SECRET~~

REC-16

100-108763, 8

100-101

October 30, 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-16-89 BY 207051

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Dear [Redacted]

I have read your letter of October 24th.

While I would like to be of service, information contained in the files of the FBI is confidential and available for official use only pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice.

You may wish to know, I have made no plans to retire. On the contrary, it is my desire to remain in my present capacity as long as I can be of service to our country.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information concerning James Baldwin, author, is well-known to the Bureau in connection with his communist front and integration activities. He has in the past blamed Mr. Hoover for the racial strife in Alabama.

JCF:rls
(3)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

OCT 30 2 13 PM '63

OCT 31 10 52 AM '63
REC'D

RECEIVED DIRECTOR

BB. JCF

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 62-108763)

DATE: 12/9/63

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146553)

SUBJECT: JAMES BALDWIN
SM-CCard filed
Cards sent 00
12/10/63
HWTMAKE RI-17 card.
-104
JH
2☒ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.☐ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name James Baldwin		
Aliases James Arthur Baldwin		
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5-16-89 BY 258(SJ)Jap		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	<input type="checkbox"/> Alien
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party	<input type="checkbox"/> Independent Socialist League
<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Race Negro	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Date of Birth 8/2/24	Place of Birth New York, New York	
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address) UNKNOWN writer, from residence		
Key Facility Data REC-22 62-908763 11		
Geographical Reference Number EX-102		
Interested Agencies DEC 11 1963		
Residence Address 81 Horatio St. New York, New York 470 West End Avenue New York, New York		

2 DEC 12 1963
REGISTERED MAIL

022780

M.F. Row

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 10, 1963

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland *JFB*SUBJECT: JAMES A. BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER - C
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. W. P. Jones
1 - Mr. Haack

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
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Sullivan _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

In connection with a summary of information in Bureau files on Baldwin the Director inquired, "Is Baldwin on our Security Index?"

Baldwin's name is included in the Reserve Index (special group of individuals who will receive priority consideration with respect to investigation and/or other action following apprehension of Security Index subjects). Although Baldwin's name is not now in the Security Index, New York has this case under active investigation and, among other things, his Security Index status will be evaluated.

ACTION:

This is submitted in accordance with the Director's request. New York is being followed closely.

62-108763

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-89 BY SP2 BJS/wes

EX-102

IDH:cad
(7) *cad*

REC 33

62-108763-12
12 DEC 20 196366 DEC 26 1963
12/18/63
WPS:cad

DEC 10 15 13

SUBV. *CONF*

SAC, New York (100-146553)

December 18, 1963

Director, FBI (62-108763)

1 - Mr. Higgins
1 - Mr. Haack
1 - Mr. Jones

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER - C

EJP
Rerep SA James D. Brody dated 12/11/63 at New York and your FD-122a of same date.

A review of the material in Bureau files concerning captioned subject as well as the information contained in the summary report of SA Brody clearly depicts subject as a dangerous individual who could be expected to commit acts inimical to the national defense and public safety of the United States in time of an emergency. Consequently, his name is being included in the Security Index and Security Index cards will be forwarded to your office.

Transmitted herewith are copies of pages 18 and 19 and copies of new page 19a which should be included in SA Brody's report. The material which has been added consists of statements made by Baldwin indicative of his dangerousness. It is possible that other statements made by him of a like nature have been published and you should thoroughly review the files of your office for any additional information of this nature.

The attention of the Washington Field Office is directed to Washington Field Office airtel dated 6/12/61 captioned "CORE, Racial Matters, Free Bus Racial Matters," Washington Field file 100-35588, and to Washington Field Office airtels dated 3/23/61 and 4/4/61 captioned "Witness for Peace, IS-C," and "Witness for Peace, Information Concerning-Security Matter," respectively, Washington Field file 100-38632. These files contain information concerning public appearances made by Baldwin in the Washington, D. C., area and statements attributed to him. Washington Field should review this material thoroughly for any information regarding inflammatory statements or statements made by Baldwin of a violent nature.

C-44 62-108763-13

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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Enclosures - 9

2 - Washington Field (Enclosures-6)

WPJ:can
(8)
DEC 24 1963

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAILED 3
DEC 18 1963
COMM-FBI

25 DEC 18 1963
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-89 BY 2078/15/89

Letter to New York
RE: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
62-108763

A review of Bureau files also indicates that New York Division is in possession of additional information concerning Baldwin which should be incorporated in a report. New York teletype dated November 29, 1963, captioned "CPUSA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters, IS - C," contained information indicating Baldwin was to fly to Washington, D. C., on November 29, 1963, to appear at a conference to be held at Howard University under the sponsorship of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. It should be ascertained whether Baldwin did, in fact, appear at this conference and whether any statements were made by him at the conference of an inflammatory nature. New York report dated November 18, 1961, captioned "Monroe Defense Committee, IS - Miscellaneous," New York file 100-146353, contains information regarding Baldwin's sponsorship of the Monroe Defense Committee which should be incorporated in a report. New York airtel dated January 29, 1963, captioned "William Worthy, IS - Cuba," New York file 100-114769, contains information concerning Baldwin's participation in picketing in protest against the Anti-Defamation League's "Democratic Legacy Award" to President Kennedy. This information should also be included in a report.

NY 100-146553

and on September 22, 1963, at Foley Square, New York City, in front of the United States Court House. The former meeting was sponsored by the newly formed "Artists' and Writers' Committee for Justice," and the latter meeting was sponsored by the March on Washington Committee. In his speeches at these meetings, BALDWIN called for a break by the Negroes from the Republican and Democratic parties, and suggested the possibility of a 3rd party being formed to further the "Negro revolution."

The June 3, 1963, issue of "Newsweek" magazine carried an article captioned "Kennedy and Baldwin; the Gulf," which reports on an informal discussion between Attorney General ROBERT F. KENNEDY, BURKE MARSHALL, Civil Rights Chief of the Department of Justice, JAMES BALDWIN and several of BALDWIN's acquaintances, which meeting was held at the apartment of JOSEPH P. KENNEDY in New York City.

According to the article, a 2½ hour informal discussion took place, and on one occasion a young freedom rider wagged a finger in the face of Attorney General KENNEDY and informed him he would not take up arms against Cuba.

The article further relates that BALDWIN, when interviewed, in his apartment in New York City, stated "He (Attorney General KENNEDY) was surprised to hear there were Negroes who wouldn't fight for their country." BALDWIN continued, "How many Negroes would fight to free Cuba when they can't be freed themselves?"

At the above meeting, which was held on May 24, 1963, BALDWIN reportedly told the Attorney General that he would not think of fighting for the United States if the United States got into a war and that he was thinking of getting guns and starting to shoot white people.

62-108763-13

- 18 -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-89 BY 2052 (STV) SP

ENCLOSURE

NY 100-146553

"The New York Times" issue of May 13, 1963, contained an article which stated that JAMES BALDWIN who was in Los Angeles on May 12, 1963, for integration rallies, had cabled Attorney General ROBERT KENNEDY blaming J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director of the FBI, Senator JAMES EASTLAND, Democrat of Mississippi, and President KENNEDY for the turmoil in Birmingham, Alabama.

"The New York Times" issue of February 4, 1962, carried an article reflecting that a pledge to defy any United States ban of shipments of medicine and food to Cuba was made on February 3, 1962, by a group of 19 United States citizens.

In a letter to President KENNEDY, the group warned that it would "feel compelled" to send food and medical supplies to Cubans if Washington, "misguidedly" banned such exports.

Among the signers of this letter was JAMES BALDWIN.

The November 6, 1963, issue of the "Washington Daily News," a daily newspaper in Washington, D. C. carried an article concerning a civil rights conference held at Howard University, Washington, D. C., on November 5, 1963. Among those participating at this conference was JAMES BALDWIN concerning whom the article made the following statement "Mr. Baldwin dropped several veiled hints of future trouble. 'I wonder how long we can endure--stand and not fight back,' he said at one point. At another, he said he knew of 'Many...even members of my own family' who would 'think nothing of picking up arms tomorrow.'" The article also states that BALDWIN advocates the use of the general strike as a means to achieve civil rights.

The "New York Herald Tribune" of September 29, 1963, contains an article dealing with plans of Negro civil rights leaders to hold mass meetings in New York to mourn the six Negro children killed in Birmingham, Alabama. The article indicates that BALDWIN bitterly criticized the Kennedy Administration and the Federal Bureau of Investigation for their alleged "lack of action" following the bombing of the church in

NY 100-146553

Birmingham in which four Negro girls were killed. The article continued "He (Baldwin) said the mass meetings Sunday would serve 'as a warning, but not a threat, that Negroes in America, since the Birmingham atrocities, are dangerously on the edge of violence, violence that could erupt in Birmingham and spread across this Nation.'"

On June 30, 1963, the "Miami News," a local Miami, Florida, newspaper reported that a Negro writer who they described as "The angry young man of American literature," James Baldwin, warned that there are a lot of angry young people among his race and their tempers are wearing thin, and that the self-control which Negro integrationists use in their non-violence campaign for equality is reaching the breaking point. The article further reported Baldwin as stating that obstruction to the passage of President Kennedy's civil rights legislation in Congress could well be the spark to touch off widespread rioting.

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of September 27, 1963, contained an Associated Press article dated New York September 25th which states that Baldwin termed the appointment by President Kennedy of Kenneth C. Royall and Earl H. Blaik as peacemakers in Birmingham was "cynical." The article also quoted Baldwin as saying "We must make the establishment afraid of us."

Tolson ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Casper ☒
 Callahan ☒
 Conrad ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 Evans ☒
 Gale ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel ☒
 Trotter ☒
 Tele Room ☒
 Holmes ☒
 Gandy ☒

In Memoriam, One Sunday Later

THE MOURNING NATION

By Terry Smith
 Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Tens of thousands throughout the nation mourned the death of the four Negro girls in Birmingham in memorial rallies yesterday in scores of cities.

One week after the bombing of the Birmingham church, they gathered to express the troubled conscience of a nation. In New York there were rallies in four boroughs,

drawing a total of 10,000 people. They gathered on the steps of the Federal Courthouse in Foley Square, on the lawn at Addisleigh Park in Queens, in front of the Bronx County Courthouse, and marched for three-quarters of a mile through Brooklyn's Brownsville section. In solemn unison, whites and Negroes sang and prayed and listened together.

The sadness and anger over the death of the children of Birmingham pervaded other mass meetings. At the Interfaith Day observance on the Central Park Mall, most of the speakers, including Mayor Wagner, referred to "the senseless slaughter of the children of Birmingham in the midst of worship."

The gathering at Foley Square was by far the largest here yesterday. An estimated 7,000 assembled there, crowding an area normally deserted on a Sunday afternoon. About 200 police, including a mounted patrol, were on hand, but the crowd was calm.

Twice the crowd sang the hymn of the revolution, "We Shall Overcome," and their voices echoed off the pillars and walls that enclose the square.

Starting at 3:15 p. m., a variety of speakers addressed the crowd from a platform at the foot of the sweeping stairs of the Federal building.

Their theme was the same, but their ideas were different.

Bayard Rustin, deputy director of last month's march on Washington, urged a sit-down in the elevators and offices of the Department of Justice in 100 cities throughout the country.

"We will make it so difficult to operate, they'll have to us," he said.

James Baldwin, Negro author, repeated his argument that no Christmas shopping should be done by Americans this year because "we have lost the right to be called a Christian nation."

"I'm serious about this," he said, "for two reasons: one, this nation should be in mourning for the foreseeable future, and two, this Christian nation may never have read the Bible but they understand the money."

James Farmer, head of the Congress of Racial Equality, accused the Department of Justice and the President of "inactivity."

"They must share the blame with that poor, demented fool who threw the bomb," he said.

Norman Thomas, the 77-year-old Socialist, told the audience, "I was keenly ashamed I was a white American last Sunday when I heard of that despicable bombing. But some of the

NY
 B. APPROX. 1886

100-433744
 100-440454
 100-158793

UNREC'D FILED IN

Set me have sum
 mation on Rustin, Baldwin
 Farmer & Jackson.

REC-13

62-108763

DEC 24 1963

The Washington Post and Times Herald
 The Washington Daily News
 The Evening Star
 New York Herald Tribune
 New York Journal-American
 New York Mirror
 New York Daily News
 New York Post
 The New York Times
 The Worker
 The New Leader
 The New York Journal
 National Observer
 World

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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blame falls on you Negroes because you didn't wake up and act earlier."

"I am the most defeated man in this country," said the six-time Presidential candidate, Mr. Thomas, "but I still believe in fighting for a thing like this. Use your vote, use your vote to change a government where a man like Eastland, (Mississippi Senator) is on a committee that approves judges."

Blyden Jackson, the young Negro co-ordinator of the rally, which had the support of most civil rights organizations in the city, spoke briefly and called for the arrest of Gov. Wallace of Alabama.

"Instead of us filling up the the jails with black folk," he said, "let's put a few bad white folk in jail."

Theodore Bikel, folksinger and actor, appeared at the head of a contingent of about 120 actors, singers and

dancers. He was dressed entirely in black, including his shirt and tie. "I was born a second-class citizen," he said, "and I won't be happy until others get out of that classification."

Malcolm X, leader of the militant Black Muslims, attended the rally. He disapproved of the number of white people in the audience. "A cup of coffee is strong when it is black," he said. "When you mix it with cream it only dilutes it."

About 1,000 persons assembled in the Bronx, wearing armbands and carrying wreaths and four mock coffins. They gathered at E. 161st St. and Washington Ave., and marched to the steps of the Bronx County Courthouse, eight blocks away. Several speakers addressed them during a 30-minute ceremony. At the close, most of the audience

boarded 10 waiting buses and rode to join the rally at Foley Square.

In Queens, an estimated 3,000 gathered in the park at Merrick and Linden Bvds. in St. Albans. Small coffins were on the platform, covered with American flags. The audience joined in an "act of dedication," pledging to mourn and remember the children of Birmingham.

Negro leaders announced they would boycott stores on Jamaica Ave., Jamaica, beginning Oct. 7 as part of a selective buying program to apply pressure against alleged discrimination at the Rochdale Village housing construction site.

In Brooklyn, 4,000 Negroes and whites marched from Christopher and Pitkin Aves. for three-quarters of a mile through the Brownsville section to the Betsy Head Memorial Playground at Dumont and Hopkinson Aves.

There they heard the Rev. S. R. Johnson Jr., pastor of Bethlehem Baptist Church, 327 Powell St.; Abe Stark, president of the City Council; and Fred Young, president of the Brownsville division of the Brooklyn Sunday School Union, deplore the Birmingham bombing. Resolutions were adopted condemning Gov. Wallace and urging President Kennedy to exert "the full moral authority of his office" to end the crisis.

Throughout the country, from the Space Needle in Seattle to Lafayette Square in Washington, the dead children were mourned.



Herald Tribune photo by MORRIS WARMAN

SPEAKING OUT—James Baldwin exhorting a crowd of nearly 7,000 at Foley Square yesterday during a rally held to mourn the death of four Negro girls in Birmingham last Sunday. Behind Mr. Baldwin, without a hat, is Norman Thomas, and at right looking up at the speaker, is James Farmer, the national director of CORE.

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Rosen

DATE: September 24, 1963

FROM : G. H. Scatterday

SUBJECT: JAMES L. FARMER; BAYARD RUSTIN;
BLYDEN B. JACKSON, JR.; JAMES BALDWIN
RACIAL MATTERS - INFORMATION CONCERNINGALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

The "New York Herald Tribune" in its issue of 9/23/63 contained an article entitled "In Memoriam, One Sunday Later" in which it mentioned that tens of thousands throughout the nation mourned the death of four Negro girls in Birmingham in memorial rallies in scores of cities. There was an estimated 7,000 persons assembled at Foley Square in New York City, which assemblage was addressed by a variety of speakers, including Farmer, Rustin, Jackson and Baldwin. Regarding this article, a request was made for summaries containing information concerning these four individuals. Summaries are as follows:

JAMES L. FARMER

Farmer was born 1/12/20 at Marshall, Texas, is a graduate of Howard University, Washington, D. C., and currently resides in New York City. He has been connected for many years with organizations dealing with racial matters and in 1941, at the time he helped form the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), he was employed as secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He left this position in 1945 to work as an organizer with the Upholsterers International Union in Philadelphia. From 1948 to 1950 he was a free-lance lecturer on racial relations and thereafter for five years was employed as student field secretary for the League for Industrial Democracy in New York. In 1959 he was appointed program director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in New York and in February, 1961, he was appointed to his present position as director of CORE.

Farmer is an advocate of nonviolent resistance in racial matters. His strategy for fighting discrimination by peaceful means was accepted as a basis in the formation of the first CORE group in Chicago. Farmer was one of thirteen freedom riders aboard the Greyhound bus which was burned in Anniston, Alabama, in May, 1961, during rioting touched off by CORE's testing of segregated bus station facilities.

- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Bland

REC-13

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File 62-108763
(Baldwin)
SUBV. CONT.
104

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Memorandum to Mr. Rosen
Re: James L. Farmer, Et Al.

In May and June, 1961, he was arrested by local officers in Jackson, Mississippi, and charged with "breach of peace." He was subsequently tried and convicted in Jackson on 1/24/62 and sentenced to four months in jail and a \$200 fine.

It is noted that Bureau files reveal Farmer has been interviewed on numerous occasions by Bureau Agents and has always been cooperative. Likewise, he has voluntarily furnished information concerning racial matters to various field offices of the Bureau.

Subsequent to his experience in Jackson, Mississippi, he has continued the work of CORE in other areas in the South without letup.

During August, 1963, Farmer was again arrested in connection with demonstrations at Plaquemine, Louisiana. In early September he was found guilty in municipal court, Plaquemine, on charges of disturbing the peace and obstructing streets and sidewalks and was fined \$100 or thirty days on each charge. The attorneys for Farmer appealed this conviction.

Our files contain no information indicating possible subversive action or association on the part of Farmer.
(100-225892-624)

BAYARD RUSTIN

Rustin was born 3/17/13 at West Chester, Pennsylvania, and was educated at Wilberforce University and the City College of New York. He is an ardent pacifist and has been affiliated with a number of pacifist-type organizations. He has been active in numerous picket lines, demonstrations and other agitations protesting military conscription and racial segregation.

Memorandum to Mr. Rosen
Re: James L. Farmer, Et Al.

Rustin was a member of the American Student Union in 1939, which has been cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He is a self-admitted former member of the Young Communist League from 1936 to 1941. He publicly admitted in 1950 that he had been a member of the Communist Party but was no longer so affiliated. Rustin, among others, was listed as an "impartial observer" at the Communist Party, USA, national convention in 1957.

He is active in a leadership position with the War Resisters League and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. From 1956 through 1960 he was secretary to Martin Luther King, Jr., and in 1962 was assistant secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He was the deputy director of the committee planning the August 28, 1963, March on Washington, D. C.

Rustin was investigated by the Bureau for violation of the Selective Service Act of 1940 when he refused to comply with the provisions of the Act on grounds of alleged conscientious objection. On 2/17/44 he pleaded guilty to an indictment charging violation of the above Act and was sentenced to three years imprisonment. He was conditionally released from prison on 6/11/46. He was arrested by the New York City Police Department in 1946 for offering to commit a lewd or indecent act; disposition not known. In 1953 in Los Angeles, California, he was arrested for lewd vagrancy and was convicted and sentenced to sixty days imprisonment. During the period 1948 to 1953 Rustin was arrested for such charges as disorderly conduct in New York City; violation of local bus laws in Raleigh, North Carolina; and picketing the French Embassy in Washington, D. C.

He has adopted a militant integration approach stating that he now believes his former passive resistance has been unproductive.
(100-158790; 100-106670)

BLYDEN B. JACKSON, JR.

Jackson was born in June, 1936, at New Haven, Connecticut. We investigated him during 1963 based on information indicating his membership in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has been cited by the Attorney General. In 1961 he was president of the New Haven chapter of CORE.

Memorandum to Mr. Rosen
Re: James L. Farmer, Et Al.

Jackson has been arrested on several occasions while participating in CORE "sit-ins." Informants, who have furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he was a member of the SWP; however, he has denied this although he did admit that he was a member for a short time of the New York chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) during 1962. He has attended numerous meetings of the SWP and has attended educational classes and forums of this organization. He has also participated in many other Negro organizations including attendance of meetings of the Nation of Islam (NOI). On several occasions, Bureau Agents have interviewed him and he has furnished information regarding the activities of the NOI. He claims that he does not agree with the policies of the NOI as he is in favor of the integration of whites and Negroes, which is in contrast to the NOI philosophy.

We have an arrest record concerning him from the New Haven, Connecticut, police in which he was charged in April, 1962, with giving false information and possession of a revolver. The facts of this case were that following a domestic quarrel with his wife, she shot him in the chest and thereafter he advised police that three young hoodlums had accosted him and shot him. Subsequent investigation revealed that his wife had done the shooting. In June, 1962, he was arrested by the New York City Police Department for felonious assault and again in August, 1963, for obstructing an officer and disorderly conduct. No dispositions are shown for any of these arrests.

Our investigation has revealed that although he was married some years ago and has two children, he deserted his wife and has been living with various other women, including white women, in New York City. A warrant for his arrest was outstanding in 1962 for failure to support his wife. As of April, 1963, he was receiving psychiatric treatments at Bellevue Hospital in New York.

He continues to be active in racial matters but has not continued his activities with the SWP.

We have discontinued any contact with Jackson in view of his instability and unsavory background. (100-440454)

Memorandum to Mr. Rosen
Re: James L. Farmer, Et Al.

~~JAMES BALDWIN~~

Summary

FOREIGN

We have not investigated Baldwin. Our files show that he is a Negro author born in August, 1924, New York City. He received numerous fellowships and awards for his work as magazine editor which enabled him to live and write abroad for approximately eight years during the 1950s. He has become rather well-known due to his writings which deal primarily with the relationship between whites and Negroes.

In 1960 he sponsored an advertisement of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and was identified as one of its prominent members. This group is a pro-Castro propaganda organization in the United States. In 1961 he sponsored a news release from the Carl Braden Clemency Appeal Committee distributed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an organization cited as communist by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). Braden was a communist convicted of contempt of the HCUA. In 1961 he sponsored a rally to abolish the HCUA. In 1962 Baldwin signed a clemency petition for Junius Scales, a communist convicted under the Smith Act.

Baldwin has been extremely active in organizations supporting integration and in 1961 he reportedly stated that a period of revolution confronted the world and only in revolution could the problems of the United States be solved. He has advocated abolishment of capital punishment and has criticized the Director stating that Mr. Hoover "is not a lawgiver nor is there any reason to suppose him to be a particularly profound student of human nature. He is a law-enforcement officer. It is appalling that in this capacity he not only opposes the trend of history among civilized nations, but uses his enormous power and prestige to corroborate the blindest and basest instincts of the retaliatory mob."

"Time" magazine in May, 1963, described Baldwin as "a nervous, slight, almost fragile figure, filled with frets and fears. He is effeminate in manner, drinks considerably, smokes cigarettes in chains and he often loses his audience with overblown arguments."

In an interview-type of article in the May, 1963, issue of "Mademoiselle," he said with reference to the subject of homosexuality, "American males are the only people I've ever encountered in the world who are willing to go on the needle before they'll go to bed with each other. Because they're afraid of this, they don't know how to go to bed with women either. I've known people who literally died out of this panic. I don't know what homosexual means any more, and Americans don't either...If you fall in love with a boy, you fall in love with a boy. The fact that Americans consider it a disease says more about them than it says about homosexuality."

Memorandum to Mr. Rosen
Re: James L. Farmer, Et Al.

He has indicated publicly that he feels the Attorney General and the President have been ineffective in dealing with discrimination and in this connection has urged the removal of the Director.
(157-6-34-78; 62-108763)

By memorandum dated 5/28/63 the Director indicated that the Attorney General had called and related a conversation he had had with James Baldwin, whom he considered a "nut." The Attorney General advised that the whole conversation started by Baldwin making two determinations: (1) Wouldn't think of fighting for the United States if the United States got into a war and (2) Thinking of getting guns and starting to shoot white people. The Attorney General indicated that Baldwin "is an important figure in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)" and commented that the Negroes look up to this sort of leadership as the Negroes have no outstanding leaders with the exception of Martin Luther King. (100-439190-47)

ACTION:

This is for the Director's information.

It should be noted that all of the information set forth above concerning these individuals has been furnished to the Department over the past several months.

Handwritten notes:
✓
Rosen
As Baldwin on our Security Index?
H

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 62-108763) DATE: DEC 11 1963

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146553)

SUBJECT: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
SM-C

Card filed
Cards sent 00
12/26/63
WCA

Handwritten notes and signatures:
SAC
Wes
11/1/63
11/1/63

☒ It is recommended that a "Section A" Reserve Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

The "Section A" Reserve Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

DATE 5/17/89 BY 2088 JTD/af

Name JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN			
Aliases			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Alien	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party		
<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify)			
Date of birth 8/2/24	Place of birth New York, NY	Race N	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address) Self-employed writer from residence			
Key Facility Data			
Geographical Reference Number		Responsibility	
Interested Agencies		DEC 12 1963	
Residence Address Apartment 6, 470 West End Ave., NY			

2-Bureau
1-New York

JDB:rdv
(3)

58 JAN 1 1964

REGISTERED MAIL

REC-11 62-108763-16
EX-101

Handwritten notes and stamps:
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DEC 12 30 PM '63
SUBV
W. J. R. Row

NY 100-146553

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN is a well-known author and leader in the civil rights movement in this country. He has had the following activity:

Sponsor of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee;
April, 1960

Addressed public meeting of National Lawyers
Guild; October, 1963

Signed clemency appeal for CARL BRADEN, identified
as CP member; August, 1961

Signed appeal for U.S. to cease intervention in
Vietnam; July, 1963

Signed ad calling for abolishing HCUA; February, 1962.

In view of the above, it is recommended that BALDWIN be placed on the Reserve Index A.

ADDENDUM: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, 12/17/63, WPJ:cad

Baldwin has also made numerous inflammatory statements and statements critical of the FBI and the administrations handling of civil rights matters. At a meeting which Baldwin and others had with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in New York City in May, 1963, Baldwin reportedly told the Attorney General he would not think of fighting for the United States if the United States got into a war and that he was thinking of getting guns and starting to shoot white people. Baldwin has also made such statements as "We must make the establishment afraid of us." and that he knew of "Many...even members of my own family who would think nothing of picking up arms tomorrow." At a civil rights conference held at Howard University, Washington, D. C., on November 5, 1963, Baldwin made

NY 100-146553

several veiled hints of future trouble according to an article in the November 6 issue of the "Washington Daily News." In criticizing the FBI's investigation of civil rights matters Baldwin stated "I blame J. Edgar Hoover for events in Alabama. Negroes have no cause to have faith in the FBI." and "...first of all you have to get Eastland out of Congress and get rid of the power that he wields. You've got to get rid of J. Edgar Hoover and the power that he wields. If you could get rid of just those two men or modify their power there would be a great deal more hope...." Baldwin also contributed to a book captioned "A Quarter Century of Un-Americana" which contains articles and cartoons severely ridiculing the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the McCarran Act and the FBI.

FBI

Date: 10/10/63

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via _____ AIRTEL

JAMES BALDWIN

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-151548)

SUBJECT: CPUSA,
NEGRO QUESTION,
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C
ReNYtel 10/10/63.

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are 8 copies of a LHM dated 10/10/63, containing information that Clarence Jones is spending too much time on the Civil Rights Movement and plans to get out of the Civil Rights Field and quit the Ghandi Society. He stated that he intends to devote his time to the practice of law.

Indices of the NYO negative on THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN, who is to be JIM BALDWIN's new attorney.

Jimmy Baldwin
The first source used in the LHM is NY 4099-S*.
The second source used to characterize CLARENCE JONES
is [REDACTED]
in 1954.

REC- 5 ACT-46

RECORDED

This memorandum has been classified ~~SECRET~~ ^{RECORDED} because it contains information from NY 240992-S*. ^{172 OCT 23 1963} This source has furnished highly sensitive information with respect to racial situation in the New York area and Communist infiltration thereof, and it is felt that this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable positions of the informants in furnishing information of this nature.

3-Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM) **EXPOSURE** DATE FORG. =
1-New York (100-37250) (CLARENCE JONES) LOW FORG.
1-New York (100-) (JAMES BALDWIN) BY - *220*

2-New York

JGS:ckm

Approv(8.)

Sent

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INT/SEC.

C. C. Wick

In Charge

Let's try

70-12-53

SFP: Henry

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~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

October 10, 1963

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. NY 100-151548

Communist Party, United States of
America (CPUSA)
Negro Question
Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

On October 10, 1963, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information which indicated that on that date, Clarence Jones told [] that he had been spending too much time on the Civil Rights Movement. Jones said that he had been critical of Jimmy Baldwin's activities, and he mentioned that Jimmy's sexual propensities are known. Jones said that he is getting out of the Civil Rights Field and quitting the Gandhi Society. He stated that he intends to engage in the regular practice of law. Jones indicated that he also planned to get out of the entertainment field. He mentioned that Jimmy was to come to the office to arrange for the transfer of his files. He stated that the new lawyer for Baldwin would be Ted Kupferman with offices at 500 5th Avenue and residence at 140 East 76th Street. Jim. Baldwin is a Negro author.

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b7c

As of September 15, 1963, Clarence Jones was the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

A second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 26, 1957, he identified a photograph of Clarence

DECLASSIFIED BY 2581573/9
ON 5-17-89

~~SECRET~~

Group I

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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~~SECRET~~

CPUSA
Negro Question
Communist Influence in Racial Matters

Jones as a person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954, to be a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL).

The LYL has been designated, pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

- 2 -
~~SECRET~~

Cancelled

DEC 20 1963

SAC, New York (100-146553)

December 19, 1963

Director, FBI (62-108763)

1 - Mr. Higgins

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER - C

"Reserve Index card canceled"
12/19/63
Huh -

ReBulet. 12/18/63.

Since subject has been included in the Security Index, his Section A Reserve Index card at the Bureau has been canceled. You are requested to take similar action with the Section A Reserve Index card in your possession.

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DATE 2/16/89 BY SP8 BTJ/cap

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- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

HPH:cad

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12/16/63

AIRTEL

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-384660)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2CLC/KLS/8
ON 12/11/95

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-107419)

JAMES O'BALDWIN

SUBJECT: EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE
IS - C: ISA of 1950
(OO: NY)

b6
b7C
b7D

Forwarded herewith are five copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning the 12/13/63 dinner of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The first source is [REDACTED] (X)U

The following sources furnished the characterizations of the individuals listed below:

Second source [REDACTED]
Third source [REDACTED]
Fourth source [REDACTED]
Fifth source [REDACTED]
Sixth source [REDACTED]
BALDWIN

JAMES

The statement in the letterhead memorandum made by [REDACTED] pertaining to the assassination of President KENNEDY, has been furnished to the Secret Service in New York City.

- (4) - Bureau (100-384660) (Encls. 12) (RM)
(1-100-3-104-34) (CPUSA, COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)
1 - [REDACTED] (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-129202 (CPUSA, COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM) (41)
1 - NY 100-107419 (41)

HEM:mjc
(8)

Classified by 6972/22
Declassify on: OADR

Classified by 6972/22
Declassify on: OADR

NOT RECORDED
29 JAN 3 1964

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

31 JAN 10 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-384660-752

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-107419

Under the Counterintelligence Program it is urged that this statement of BOB DYLAN, made at this meeting, be brought to the attention of all the Bureau's contacts in the mass media field so that proper publicity will be given to DYLAN, who by means of his folksinging, has the ability to have some communication with American youth. In addition, publicity of this sort will point up the type organization Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is to honor an individual of DYLAN's mentality. With the large number of persons in attendance, the NYO does not believe that the security of any informant would be in jeopardy.

The letterhead memorandum is being classified "~~confidential~~" inasmuch as the disclosure of the information furnished by the fourth and sixth sources, informants of continuing value, could possibly result in identification of informants and thus impair the national defense interest of the country.

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
December 16, 1963

Bureau 100-324660

Re: Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
Internal Security - C
Internal Security Act of 1950

A source advised on December 16, 1963, that on the evening of December 13, 1963, the Tenth Annual Bill of Rights Dinner, sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), was held in the Imperial Ballroom, Americana Hotel, New York City, with approximately 1500 persons in attendance.

A characterization of the ECLC is contained in the appendix hereto.

The affair was opened by Corliss Lamont, who introduced Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, a recent recipient of an award from President Lyndon B. Johnson, who cut the cake commemorating the 172nd anniversary of the Bill of Rights and the 12th anniversary of the ECLC.

On September 28, 1953, Louis Budenz, former managing editor of the "Daily Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication January 13, 1958, testified before the United States Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations. In this testimony Budenz stated that Earl Browder, as head of the Communist Party (CP) in the United States, had referred to Corliss Lamont as one of the "four prides" of the CP because Lamont was always ready to cooperate with any Communist front or any Communist cause. Browder made this reference at a National Committee meeting of the CP in the early 1940's. Budenz also testified that Corliss Lamont was a member of the CP when he, Budenz, was a member.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 BTJ/SSG
ON 5-13-99
and 5-13-99
in accordance with
ECLC 1950-1963
Release Policy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
Internal Security - C
Internal Security Act of 1950

On August 26, 1949, a second source made available a release which was publicized by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACFPB), which contained a listing of the sponsors of the ACPFB. The name Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, California Institute of Technology, Berkeley, California, was contained on this list.

Corliss Lamont then introduced John Henry Faulk, the toastmaster of the evening, who, in turn, introduced the first speaker Mrs. Cyrus Eaton, wife of the Ohio Industrialist.

During March, 1944, a third source advised that on the night of February 21, 1944, John Henry Faulk and his wife attended a meeting of the city branch of the CP held in Houston, Texas.

A fourth source on February 13, 1953, reported that Anne K. Eaton, the wife of Cleveland Industrialist Cyrus Eaton in a discussion regarding the association of the Eatons with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, as creating bad publicity for the Eatons, had commented that she trusted the Government of the Soviet Union more than she did the Government of the United States.

Mrs. Cyrus Eaton, in her remarks, stated that the American Negro is achieving the impossible. She stated that the spirit of the Negro is visualized throughout the world and that if we wake up, the American spirit can change the world.

[redacted] then presented the annual "Tom Paine Award" of the ECLC, given annually to the foremost fighter for civil liberties, to the folksinger Bob Dylan.

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b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
Internal Security - C
Internal Security Act of 1950

Bob Dylan, in his acceptance speech, stated that he saw in Lee Harvey Oswald, "the man who killed the President," things that are in himself. He stated that he doesn't think he would go that far but he isn't sure.

In testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, on August 22, 1951, Clark Foreman was described as a Communist by Louis Budenz, former Managing Editor, "Daily Worker," east coast Communist newspaper, which suspended publication January 13, 1958.

A fifth source advised on May 9, 1962, that Bob Dylan, on April 25, 1962, participated in a "Festival Folk and Jazz Concert" which was sponsored by the United States Festival Committee.

A characterization of the United States Festival Committee Incorporated is attached hereto.

Corliss Lamont, in attempting to interpret the statement made by Bob Dylan, stated that he believed that Dylan wanted to say that he felt a feeling of guilt as we all should in causing the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

James Baldwin also spoke at the dinner, at which time he stated that the freedom march in August, 1963, of 250,000 individuals wanted a redress of grievances. He stated that these people wanted to tell this country of their troubles and tell of the troubles of our country. He stated that he has never been afraid of Russia, China or Cuba but he is terrified of this country. He stated that apathy allows thousands of people in the deep South to perish, not only Negroes. He stated that the real victim is the poor white man who does these things because he was told generations ago to do them.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
Internal Security - C
Internal Security Act of 1950

A sixth source advised on October 19, 1963 that James Baldwin was the principal speaker at a public meeting of the National Lawyers Guild which was held at Town Hall in New York City on October 18, 1963.

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

The ACPFB has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

- 4 -
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
Internal Security - C
Internal Security Act of 1950

1.

APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

- "1. 'The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. * * *. The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.'

'FRANK WILKINSON was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. * * * WILKINSON has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.'

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
Internal Security - C
Internal Security Act of 1950

2.

APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (CONT'D)

'Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists.

* * *

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

'To defend the cases of Communist law-breakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
Internal Security-C

1. Internal Security Act of 1950
APPENDIX

THE UNITED STATES FESTIVAL COMMITTEE, INCORPORATED
(EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)

The third 1961 issue of "World Youth," a publication of World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), reported that the first meeting of the International Preparatory Committee (IPC) took place at Helsinki, Finland, on February 20-22, 1961, to prepare for the Eighth World Youth Festival to be held in Helsinki, in 1962. At the meeting, the IPC elected a permanent commission composed of representatives of a number of countries including Canada, the United States, as well as representatives of WFDY and the International Union of Students (IUS).

The IUS with headquarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and the WFDY with headquarters in Budapest, Hungary, are cited as communist organizations in the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" dated December 1, 1961, published by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., pages 91 and 177.

A source advised that in April, 1961, DANNY RUBIN, National Youth Director, Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), advised that CP districts should concentrate on getting broad groups to sponsor the United States Festival Committee (USFC).

A pamphlet issued by the USFC described the program for the Festival and advised that the USFC was organized by students and youth leaders at a founding conference at Chicago, Illinois, October 15, 1961, to publicize and encourage participation in the Helsinki Festival. The USFC had been recognized by the IPC, the sponsoring body of the Festival, as the United States Committee to administer United States participation in the Festival.

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On August 20, 1963, a second source reported the USFC Post Office Box 172, Highbridge Station, Bronx 52, New York, had been closed July 1, 1963, and mail since the latter date had been forwarded to [redacted]
[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
Internal Security - C
Internal Security Act of 1950

2.

APPENDIX

THE UNITED STATES FESTIVAL COMMITTEE, INCORPORATED
(EIGHTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL)

A third source, in the summer of 1962, advised that
[redacted] was a member of the CP.

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On August 20, 1963, a telephone call, under suitable pretext, was made by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to [redacted] at his residence. [redacted] advised that the USFC is inactive at this time and maintains no headquarters.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
Internal Security - C

1. Internal Security Act APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
December 16, 1963

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bureau 100-364560

Title Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

Character Internal Security - C
Internal Security Act of 1950
Reference is made to the memorandum dated and
captioned as above at New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

FEDERAL

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

NY

CONFIDENTIAL

Reporting Office: NEW YORK Office of Origin: NEW YORK Date: DEC 11 1963 Investigated: 10/63

Title of Case: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN Report made by: JAMES D. BRODY Typed by: rdu

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

CHARACTER OF CASE

SM-C

Classified by: 6932/EP/20

Declassify on: OADR 23090

3016 JWP

SUMMARY REPORT

REFERENCE:

Telephone call from [redacted] to
NYO, 4:40 PM, on 12/9/63.

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY
DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)

DATE: 6/14/2000 CA97-5269 (9-3) (RMU)

ADMINISTRATIVE

-P-

Copy to: State, USA

by routing slip for

☒ info ☐ action

date: 4/1/64

by: [signature]

The pretext on 12/9/63, referred to in details of
this report, was a telephone call made by SA JAMES D. BRODY
to telephone number TR 7-7773, which phone number was made
available on 11/29/63, by NY 4171-S* who indicated that the
number was listed to JAMES BALDWIN.

2/17/99
CLASSIFIED BY: [signature]
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X (1)
CA97-5269

Copy to: CIA
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date: 10-22-96

Classified by: [signature]
Declassify on: OADR 5/7/84

Approved: [signature] Special Agent in Charge Do not write in spaces below

Copies made: 4-Bureau (RM) 2-Washington Field (RM) 3-New York (100-146553)

Copy to: [signature]
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date: 12/17/99

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION.

42 DEC 12 1963

ST-103-20

4 JAN 3 1964 loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DEC 11 1963

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title : James Arthur Baldwin

Character : Security Matter - C

Reference is made to the report of
Special Agent James D. Brody, dated and captioned as above
at New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

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NY 100-146553

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The pretext employed in the above call was that of a college student desirous of inviting BALDWIN to address a student group at the college. In order that a formal invitation might be extended to Mr. BALDWIN, an unidentified female who answered the telephone furnished the subject's address as 470 West End Avenue, NYC.

This report has been classified "~~Secret~~" due to the extremely sensitive nature of NY 4099-S*. The unauthorized disclosure of information furnished by this source could reveal the identity of the source and thereby impair the investigation of subversive matters which could be injurious to the national defense.

The source used to characterize the Americans Right to Travel Committee is [redacted] (S) U

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The source used to characterize the Liberation Committee for Africa is [redacted]

Subject is recommended for inclusion in Reserve Index A in view of his association with various front groups as set forth in this report. The subject has also lent his name to various groups coming within the security interest of the FBI.

INFORMANTS

Informant

File Number Where Located

NY T-1

97-1792-1580 p. 46

NY T-2

[NY 2418-S*] (S) U

100-146553-57

NY T-3

100-10769

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b7C
b7D

COVER PAGE

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

NY 100-146553

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

INFORMANTS (Cont'd)

Informant

File Number Where Located

NY T-4

[Redacted]

OSU

100-107111-5315 p. 4

NY T-5

[Redacted]

NO 100-759

(By Request)

NY T-6

[Redacted]

100-137309-1B3 (3)

USPO

33rd St. and 8th Ave.
NYC

100-151548

NY T-7

NY 4092-S*

Characterization of CLARENCE JONES ✓

NY T-8

[Redacted]

NY T-9

[Redacted]

OSU

100-79303

NY T-10

CG 6119-S*

CG 100-35635

NY T-11

[Redacted]

OSU

[Redacted]

NY T-12

[Redacted]

OSU

[Redacted]

COVER PAGE

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NY 100-146553

INFORMANTS (Cont'd)

Informant

File Number Where Located

NY T-13
NY 4099-S*

NY 100-146553-34

NY T-14

Instant Report

[Redacted]
Federal Office Building
29th St. and 3rd Ave.
Brooklyn, NY

The following confidential informants familiar with CP activities in the NY area, mentioned in the Miscellaneous section of this report, were contacted for information concerning subject:

[Redacted]

[Redacted] RU
(X)

Informants familiar with NOI activities in the NY area, mentioned in the Miscellaneous section of this report, are:

[Redacted]

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NY 100-146553

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(U)

LEADS

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(U)

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C. Will review records at
Passport Office for all information available concerning
BALDWIN.

COVER PAGE

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100-146553

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

CONFIDENTIAL~~SECRET~~

Copy to:

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

Report of: JAMES D. BRODY

Date: DEC 11 1963

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #: 100-146553

Bureau File #:

Title: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

DECLASSIFIED BY AUC 94255 SAH/76
ON 2/17/99

CLASSIFIED BY: SP-1 AG/EW
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR 10/14/97

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis:

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN, Negro author, born on 8/2/24, in NYC, self-employed as a writer, resides in apartment 6A, 470 West End Avenue, NYC. Sources advised subject: sponsor of FPCC, April, 1960; currently subscribes to "Freedomways"; addressed public meeting of NLG, NYC, October, 1963; signed appeal for clemency for CARL BRADEN, identified as CP member August, 1961; received copy of "Workers World", August, 1961; observed in company of MALCOLM X, NOI Minister, NYC, July, 1963; addressed meeting in NYC under auspices of Liberation Committee for Africa, June, 1961; listed as sponsor of rally by NY Council to Abolish HUAC, NYC, April, 1961; addressed rally at Carnegie Hall, NYC, sponsored by Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, February, 1963; signed "Open Letter to President John F. Kennedy" urging U.S. cease intervention in Vietnam, July, 1963; ~~signed ad calling for abolition of House~~
~~Committee on Un-American Activities, February, 1962~~ BALDWIN has made the following statements: "How many Negroes would fight to free Cuba when they can't be freed themselves?"; United States is confronted with "22,000,000 black people who can't be negotiated with any more"; and reportedly stated "Part of the problem in civil rights movement is J. EDGAR HOOVER", which statement reportedly was deleted from television program of U.S. Information Agency, Washington, D.C., 8/28/63. Description of BALDWIN set forth.

Classified by 6972
Declassify on: OADR
20-90
29/3016 JHP

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

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NY 100-146553

DETAILS:

Unless otherwise noted, all background information set forth hereunder was furnished by NY T-14 on December 10, 1963.

Information contained in the "Wilson Library Bulletin" set forth below, was obtained by SA FRANK BYDLON from the files of the New York Public Library, New York City on December 10, 1963.

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Records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York mentioned hereunder were reviewed by IC [] on December 10, 1963.

I. BACKGROUND

A. Birth Data

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN was born on August 2, 1924 in New York City.

The "Wilson Library Bulletin," dated February, 1959, page 392, indicates that JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN was born on August 2, 1924 in New York City, the oldest of nine children of DAVID BALDWIN, a clergyman, and BERDIS EMMA (JONES) BALDWIN.

Records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, Borough of Manhattan, New York City, reviewed by SA WALTER C. ZINK on December 10, 1963, reflected no record of subject's birth.

B. Citizenship

Subject is a United States citizen by virtue of birth in the United States.

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C. Education

An article appearing in the June 3, 1963 issue of "The New York Times" reflected that the subject was graduated from DeWitt Clinton High School, Bronx, New York, in 1942.

The "Wilson Library Bulletin" reflects that subject was graduated in 1942 from DeWitt Clinton High School, New York City, where he served as a student judge and magazine editor.

D. Marital Status

An article in the June 3, 1963 issue of "The New York Times" indicates that subject has never been married.

E. Military Status

Subject registered with Selective Service, Local Board 11, 80 Lafayette Street, New York 13, New York, on September 17, 1948, and was assigned registration number 50-11-24-577. He was classified 1A on November 8, 1948, and on February 14, 1950, was classified 5A.

The subject was scheduled to take an Armed Forces examination in New York City on December 14, 1948. However, this examination was not taken due to subject's residence in Paris, France.

Subject is not known to have ever served in the Armed Forces of the United States.

F. Credit

Records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York indicate that on February 25, 1958, a suit was

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NY 100-146553

instituted against the subject by One [] to recover \$1,000 which had been loaned to the subject, Docket Number 1M9348. No disposition of this suit was indicated.

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On February 21, 1961, an application made by the subject for a Diner's Club Card was rejected by that organization. As of November 29, 1963, subject's credit rating was listed as satisfactory.

G. Employment

Records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York indicate that as of November, 1963, BALDWIN's business was listed as Dial Press, 461 Park Avenue South, New York City.

The subject has had the following former employments:

1945	"Saxton Fellowship"
1948	"Rosenwald Fellowship"
1948	Foreign Correspondent, Partisan Review, 1545 Broadway, New York City

On December 10, 1963, [] 470 West End Avenue, advised that the subject is self-employed as an author.

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The "Wilson Library Bulletin" reflects that after graduating from high school, BALDWIN held a number of jobs helping to support his family.

However, his only interest was writing, and in 1945 a Eugene Saxton Fellowship enabled him to devote himself to literary work.

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His first publication was a book review in 1946 in "Nation" magazine, and following that he had articles appearing in such periodicals as "Partisan Review," "American Mercury," "Commentary," "Mademoiselle," "The Reporter," "Harper's" and "New Leader", and his play "The Amen Corner" has been produced at Howard University.

BALDWIN has written the following books "Another Country," "Go Tell It On The Mountain," "Notes Of A Native Son," "Giovanni's Room," and "Nobody Knows My Name."

H. Residence

By means of a pretext on December 9, 1963, it was ascertained that JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN was then residing at 470 West End Avenue, New York City.

On December 10, 1963, [redacted] New York Telephone Company, New York City, advised that JAMES BALDWIN resides in Apartment 6A, at 470 West End Avenue, New York City, and has unlisted telephone number TR 7-7773.

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On December 10, 1963, [redacted] 470 West End Avenue, New York City, advised that the subject has resided in Apartment 6A at that address for the past three months.

Records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York indicate the following residences for the subject:

February, 1958

81 Horatio Street
New York City

November, 1962

306 West 18th Street
New York City

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NY 100-146553

November, 1963

470 West End Avenue
New York City

The subject has had the following prior residences:

46 West 131st Street
Apartment 5F
New York City
(no date)

Hotel de Rome
7 Rue des Carmes
Paris, France
(November 18, 1948)

269 Rue St. Jacques
Paris, France
(December 13, 1948)

13 Rue St. Sal Pece
Paris, France
(August 24, 1950)

800 Oxford Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan
(May 1, 1952)

I. Criminal Record

Records of the Bureau of Criminal Identification, New York City Police Department, reviewed by SA AUGUST J. MICEK on December 10, 1963, indicate that subject was arrested on September 3, 1954, on a charge of disorderly conduct for refusal to move on the order of a policeman. He was arraigned before Judge BALSAM and received a suspended sentence.

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II. AFFILIATION WITH THE
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Emergency Civil Liberties
Committee (ECLC)

The November 7, 1963 issue of the "National Guardian" contained an announcement on page 11, column 2, that JAMES BALDWIN would be one of the speakers at a "Bill of Rights Dinner" scheduled for December 13, 1963, at the Americana Hotel, New York City. The sponsor of this dinner was listed as the ECLC.

Characterizations of the ECLC and the "National Guardian" are contained in the Appendix of this report.

Fair Play For Cuba
Committee (FPCC)

On May 20, 1961, NY T-1 made available information indicating that the name and address, JAMES BALDWIN, 81 Horatio Street, New York City, was in the possession of the FPCC, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On December 10, 1963, [redacted] Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department, advised that on April 24, 1960, subject was listed as a sponsor of the FPCC, 799 Broadway, New York City.

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A characterization of the FPCC is contained in the Appendix of this report.

Freedomways Associates, Inc.

On October 25, 1963, NY T-2 advised that [redacted] [redacted] stated she had received a letter from JAMES BALDWIN, Negro author, in which BALDWIN wrote that he wanted to renew his subscription to "Freedomways" for two years. *SPU*

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BALDWIN added that he will give subscriptions to "Freedomways" as Christmas presents. NY T-2 further advised that [redacted] stated that, with BALDWIN's permission, she intends to use his letter as an advertisement to 25,000 addresses. (S)u

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[redacted] of the quarterly publication, "Freedomways", published by Freedomways Associates, Inc.

N.Y.

[redacted] of JAMES JACKSON, who, according to the October 27, 1963 issue of "The Worker", is its Editor.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

A characterization of Freedomways Associates, Inc. is contained in the Appendix of this report.

National Lawyers Guild (NLG)

The October 3, 1963 and October 10, 1963 editions of the "National Guardian" on pages 8 and 4, respectively, contained an announcement that the New York City Chapter of the NLG would present an evening with JAMES BALDWIN, author of "The Fire Next Time", at 8:30 PM, on October 18, 1963, at Town Hall, New York City. Proceeds will go [redacted] NLG's committee to assist Southern lawyers.

On October 19, 1963, NY T-3 advised that the NLG held a public meeting at Town Hall, New York City, on the evening of October 18, 1963.

Principal speaker of the evening was JAMES BALDWIN, author, who gave a commentary on the laws concerning Negro rights. BALDWIN in general statements was critical of the Attorney General, President JOHN F. KENNEDY, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) for alleged failure to live up to the civil rights promises of the United States Government.

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NY T-3 further stated that BALDWIN made the statement that the law was for the privileged and not for the poor, especially the colored people.

A characterization of the NLG is contained in the Appendix of this report.

New York Council to Abolish
the House Un-American Activities
Committee (NYCAHUAC)

The April 17, 1961 edition of the "National Guardian", on page 4, carried an announcement for a "rally to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee" to be held at St. Nicholas Arena, New York City, on April 21, 1961, under the auspices of the NYCAHUAC. One of the listed sponsors of this rally was "JAMES BALDWIN, writer."

A characterization of the NYCAHUAC is contained in the Appendix of this report.

New York Committee to Secure
Justice for MORTON SOBELL
(NYCSJMS)

On May 6, 1963, NY T-4 advised that^{at} the monthly meeting of the NYCSJMS, held on May 2, 1963, at 940 Broadway, New York City, HELEN SOBELL, wife of MORTON SOBELL, reported on program plans. She stated she was in close touch with JAMES BALDWIN, who was now in this country, and stated she was hopeful of having him on the program. (Xy)

A characterization of the NYCSJMS is contained in the Appendix of this report.

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Southern Conference
Educational Fund, Incorporated
(SCEF)

On August 18, 1961, NY T-5 made available a copy of a news release-type communication from the Carl Braden Clemency Appeal Committee which was distributed by the SCEF.

This communication reflected that a delegation of Southern Integration leaders would, on that date, take petitions signed by over 1800 leaders in the field of human rights, representing all 50 states of the United States, to President KENNEDY, asking him to free CARL BRADEN of Louisville, Kentucky. Among those listed as signers of the petitions from New York State was JAMES BALDWIN.

Concerning CARL BRADEN, it is noted that ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP) in Louisville, Kentucky, on December 11 and 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky Court House, in the prosecution of CARL BRADEN, testified that CARL BRADEN was known to her as a member of the CP in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954, which was during the period of her (AHEARN's) CP membership.

A characterization of the SCEF is contained in the Appendix of this report.

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"Workers World"

On August 25, 1961, NY T-6 made available information that JAMES BALDWIN, 81 Horatio Street, New York, New York, received the "Workers World" on that date.

A characterization of the "Workers World" is contained in the Appendix of this report.

III. ASSOCIATES

On July 15, 1963, [redacted] Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department, advised SA [redacted] that he had received the following information: from [redacted]

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[redacted] occupied by [redacted] who is a member of the Sierra Leone Mission to the United Nations (UN), and by 2 other unidentified male Negroes. [redacted]

[redacted] is definitely anti-white and anti-American but was unable to furnish [redacted] with any specific information in support of this statement.

[redacted] moved into the above apartment, in October, 1962, he has been visited by the well-known author, JAMES BALDWIN, on 5 or 6 occasions. On one occasion, about 6 weeks ago, [redacted] was visited by MALCOLM X, Minister of the Nation of Islam (NOI) in New York City.

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On July 16, 1963, [redacted]
[redacted] that on 1:10 p.m., on that date, he observed
[redacted] leave his apartment in the company of
5 persons, including JAMES BAIDWIN and MALCOLM X.

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[redacted] further advised that the
[redacted]
[redacted] Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone, who arrived
in the United States on July 13, 1963.

On August 1, 1963, NY T-7 advised that
the subject with attorneys, CLARENCE BENJAMIN
JONES and [redacted] was scheduled to fly to
Birmingham, Alabama on August 5, 1963.

As of July 3, 1963, CLARENCE JONES
was the General Counsel for the Ghandi
Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th
Street, New York City.

On February 26, 1957, NY T-6 identified
a photograph of CLARENCE JONES as the
person whom he knew during late 1953
or early 1954, to be a member and in
a position of leadership in the Labor
Youth League (LYL).

On August 20, 1963, NY T-7 advised that
CLARENCE JONES was at that time counsel
to Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The LYL has been designated pursuant
to Executive Order 10450.

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In testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities at Boston, Massachusetts, on March 18, 19 and 20, 1958, ARMANDO PENHA, a former member of the CP, identified DAVID LUBELL as a Communist Organizer among the students at various institutions of higher education in the Boston area. PENHA also identified DAVID LUBELL as a Harvard student who was an Organizer for the CP at the same time. This information is pertinent to the period 1952.

IV. STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO
JAMES BALDWIN

In an interview appearing in the June 3, 1963 issue of "The New York Times," by reporter M.S. HANDLER, BALDWIN made the following statements:

"No man can claim to speak for the Negro people today. There is no one with whom the white power structure can negotiate a deal that will bind the Negro people. There is, therefore, no possibility of a bargain whatsoever."

"I was raised in the church but have abandoned Christianity as an organized religion. The church is the worst place to learn about Christianity. I have rejected it because the Christians have rejected Christianity. It is too pious, too hypocritical."

In his interview with HANDLER, BALDWIN also stated that he could not accept the black Muslim political ideology based on black supremacy, but thought that the Muslims were the only grass roots Negro movement in the United States.

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The June 3, 1963 issue of "The New York Times" contained another article on the subject in which he stated:

"I left the country and abandoned everything in 1948, never intending to return. I couldn't bear it any longer. I knew that I would kill somebody or someone would kill me. I lived in Paris and elsewhere in Europe long enough to vomit up most of my hatred and to place America in perspective."

"It was in Paris that I realized what my problem was. I was ashamed of being a Negro. I finally realized that I would remain what I was to the end of my time and lost my shame. I awoke from my nightmare."

On May 29, 1963, NY T-9 advised that on May 28, 1963, JAMES BALDWIN addressed a rally sponsored by the Staten Island Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which rally was held at Wagner College, Grimes Hill, Staten Island, New York.

At this rally, BALDWIN stated he was speaking as an individual Negro rather than as spokesman for the Negro. He gave a brief outline of his boyhood in the South. The theme of his talk was that integration in the South is the problem of the white man and not of the Negro. He said it was not a Southern problem but a national problem. BALDWIN said he was not interested in compromises for the Negro, stating that compromising was a way of evading responsibility.

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During a question and answer period which followed, BALDWIN, when asked about his recent meeting with Attorney General ROBERT KENNEDY, stated merely that he had spoken with the Attorney General and thought the Attorney General "was beginning to listen."

The June 21, 1963 issue of the "New York Post" carried an article reporting that the subject on June 20, 1963, had received the Alumnus of the Year Award from the Frederick Douglas Junior High School in Harlem, New York City, from which school he graduated in 1938. In addressing the graduating class on June 20, 1963, BALDWIN stated, "This is the first time in the history of the country that it is confronted with 22,000,000 black people who can't be negotiated with anymore."

On September 19, 1963, NY T-13 advised that on that date CLARENCE JONES, counsel of Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. and the subject held a discussion concerning the subject's appearance on a television program by the United States Information Agency (USIA) in Washington, DC on August 28, 1963. JONES informed the subject that he had noted that the subject's remarks regarding the FBI and J. EDGAR HOOVER were not contained in the transcript of the program which had been furnished him by USIA. BALDWIN stated that he had witnesses to the statements he made on this program and recalled that the substance of his remarks regarding the FBI was "part of the problem of the civil rights movement is J. Edgar Hoover."

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JONES stated that any legitimate critical opinion of the FBI is apparently "off limits or taboo," and further stated that he intends to inform the USIA that he knows of the deletion of BALDWIN's remarks and intends to bring this information to the attention of the public and the Attorney General.

NY T-13 further stated that BALDWIN and JONES discussed BALDWIN's public statement issued at a press conference in New York City on September 18, 1963.

According to the "New York Herald Tribune," September 18, 1963, BALDWIN is quoted as bitterly criticizing the KENNEDY Administration and the FBI for their "lack of action," following the Birmingham bombing September 15, 1963. "The New York Times" of September 19, 1963, additionally quotes BALDWIN as saying, "I blame J. Edgar Hoover in part for events in Alabama. Negroes have no cause to have faith in the FBI."

NY T-13 further advised that JONES informed BALDWIN that he, JONES, had received a call from an attorney "who works in an office of the Justice Department" and who reportedly informed JONES that BALDWIN's statement had caused "quite a stir" and that, "You're going to be hearing from us."

The January 21, 1963, edition of "The Militant," a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), on page 2, column 1, carried an article which indicated that BALDWIN was opposed to the "Kennedy Administration's persecution" of newsman, WILLIAM WORTHY. BALDWIN's protest was a result of the Federal conviction of WORTHY for illegal entry into the United States, and it was voiced on January 11, 1963, over the Barry Gray radio program, in New York City.

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The article quoted BALDWIN as saying, "Worthy is a journalist whom I respect. He happens to be a colored journalist, and that certainly has something to do with his indictment. But the main point is that no government on earth has a right to tell any writer what he can and what he cannot go to see. If it happened to Bill Worthy, it can happen to me."

Because of this, BALDWIN urged listeners to the radio program to support the picket line protest against the Anti-Defamation League's Democratic Legacy Award to President KENNEDY.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Concerning WILLIAM WORTHY, JR., it is noted that he was convicted in the United States District Court, Southern District of Miami, Florida on August 8, 1962, for violation of Section 1185B, Title 8, United States Code, in that he entered the United States in October, 1961, from Cuba without a valid passport.

On September 17, 1962, WORTHY was sentenced to one year in the custody of the Attorney General, 3 months committed, 9 months probation. WORTHY has appealed the conviction to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, New Orleans, Louisiana.

The September 30, 1963 edition of "The Militant," page 1, column 3, contained an article which indicated that the subject and others spoke at 2 meetings held in New York City in memory of the 6 Negro children killed in Birmingham, Alabama. The meetings were held on September 20, 1963, at Town Hall, New York

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and on September 22, 1963, at Foley Square, New York City, in front of the United States Court House. The former meeting was sponsored by the newly formed "Artists' and Writers' Committee for Justice," and the latter meeting was sponsored by the March on Washington Committee. In his speeches at these meetings, BALDWIN called for a break by the Negroes from the Republican and Democratic parties, and suggested the possibility of a 3rd party being formed to further the "Negro revolution."

The June 3, 1963, issue of "Newsweek" magazine carried an article captioned "Kennedy and Baldwin; the Gulf," which reports on an informal discussion between Attorney General ROBERT F. KENNEDY, BURKE MARSHALL, Civil Rights Chief of the Department of Justice, JAMES BALDWIN and several of BALDWIN's acquaintances, which meeting was held at the apartment of JOSEPH P. KENNEDY in New York City.

According to the article, a 2½ hour informal discussion took place, and on one occasion a young freedom rider wagged a finger in the face of Attorney General KENNEDY and informed him he would not take up arms against Cuba.

The article further relates that BALDWIN, when interviewed, in his apartment in New York City, stated "He (Attorney General KENNEDY) was surprised to hear there were Negroes who wouldn't fight for their country." BALDWIN continued, "How many Negroes would fight to free Cuba when they can't be freed themselves?"

At the above meeting, which was held on May 24, 1963, BALDWIN reportedly told the Attorney General that he would not think of fighting for the United States if the United States got into a war and that he was thinking of getting guns and starting to shoot white people.

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"The New York Times" issue of May 13, 1963, contained an article which stated that JAMES BALDWIN who was in Los Angeles on May 12, 1963, for integration rallies, had cabled Attorney General ROBERT KENNEDY blaming J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director of the FBI, Senator JAMES EASTLAND, Democrat of Mississippi, and President KENNEDY for the turmoil in Birmingham, Alabama.

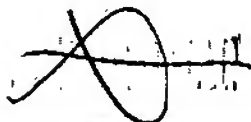
"The New York Times" issue of February 4, 1962, carried an article reflecting that a pledge to defy any United States ban of shipments of medicine and food to Cuba was made on February 3, 1962, by a group of 19 United States citizens.

In a letter to President KENNEDY, the group warned that it would "feel compelled" to send food and medical supplies to Cubans if Washington, "misguidedly" banned such exports.

Among the signers of this letter was JAMES BALDWIN.

The November 6, 1963, issue of the "Washington Daily News," a daily newspaper in Washington, D. C. carried an article concerning a civil rights conference held at Howard University, Washington, D. C., on November 5, 1963. Among those participating at this conference was JAMES BALDWIN concerning whom the article made the following statement "Mr. Baldwin dropped several veiled hints of future trouble. 'I wonder how long we can endure--stand and not fight back,' he said at one point. At another, he said he knew of 'Many...even members of my own family' who would 'think nothing of picking up arms tomorrow.'" The article also states that BALDWIN advocates the use of the general strike as a means to achieve civil rights.

The "New York Herald Tribune" of September 19, 1963, contains an article dealing with plans of Negro civil rights leaders to hold mass meetings in New York to mourn the six Negro children killed in Birmingham, Alabama. The article indicates that BALDWIN bitterly criticized the Kennedy Administration and the Federal Bureau of Investigation for their alleged "lack of action" following the bombing of the church in



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Birmingham in which four Negro girls were killed. The article continued "He (Baldwin) said the mass meetings Sunday would serve 'as a warning, but not a threat, that Negroes in America, since the Birmingham atrocities, are dangerously on the edge of violence, violence that could erupt in Birmingham and spread across this Nation.'"

On June 30, 1963, the "Miami News," a local Miami, Florida, newspaper reported that a Negro writer who they described as "The angry young man of American literature," James Baldwin, warned that there are a lot of angry young people among his race and their tempers are wearing thin, and that the self-control which Negro integrationists use in their non-violence campaign for equality is reaching the breaking point. The article further reported Baldwin as stating that obstruction to the passage of President Kennedy's civil rights legislation in Congress could well be the spark to touch off widespread rioting.

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of September 27, 1963, contained an Associated Press article dated New York September 25th which states that Baldwin termed the appointment by President Kennedy of Kenneth C. Royall and Earl H. Blaik as peacemakers in Birmingham was "cynical." The article also quoted Baldwin as saying "We must make the establishment afraid of us."

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V. MISCELLANEOUS

On June 26, 1961, NY T-10 advised that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, National Leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI) spoke favorably of the subject and stated he admired him because there was no "Tom" in him (BALDWIN).

On July 15, 1961, NY T-10, furnished information that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, mentioned above, wanted the subject to have dinner with him on July 16, 1961.

On June 7, 1961, NY T-11 advised that on June 2, 1961, BALDWIN spoke at a meeting at the Martinique Hotel, 32nd Street and Broadway, New York City, under the auspices of the Liberation Committee for Africa (LCA). This meeting was called "Nationalism, Colonialism and the United States One Minute to 12".

At this meeting, BALDWIN, who was identified as author of "Go Tell It On The Mountain", and who recently returned after nine years in Paris, France, stated that the world was confronted with a period of revolution and America had taken a position throughout the world against revolutions. BALDWIN stated that only through revolution will the problems of the United States be solved.

A characterization of the LCA is contained in the Appendix of this report.

The February 10, 1963 edition of "The Worker", page 12, column five, reflected that a message from the subject was read at a rally held in Carnegie Hall, New York City, on February 8, 1963. This rally was sponsored by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee to

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honor those persons who were fighting for Negro rights in the South.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

Page two of the magazine section of "The New York Times", dated July 14, 1963, carries "An Open Letter to President John F. Kennedy" signed by 650 individuals and urging the United States to cease intervention in Vietnam. Among the signers of this letter was JAMES BALDWIN.

The August 22, 1963 issue of "The New York Times" on page 16, carried an article which reflected that in Paris, France, on August 21, 1963, JAMES BALDWIN, author, led a delegation of about 80 American writers, musicians, and artists, to the United States Embassy in order to present a scroll bearing nearly 300 signatures indicating the support of the signers of the Civil Rights March on Washington, D.C.

On August 19, 1963, NY T-7 advised that a chartered airplane, which would be flying the Hollywood celebrities to the March on Washington, Washington, D.C., was scheduled to arrive at National Airport, Washington, D.C. at 9:00 a.m. on August 28, 1963. According to the source, JAMES BALDWIN, author, and BURT LANCASTER, actor, were planning to come in from Paris and would attempt to join the above-mentioned California group in Washington, D.C.

On September 24, 1963, NY T-12 advised that the subject was one of the speakers at a demonstration

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held at Foley Square, New York City, in connection with a National Day of Mourning for the Children of Birmingham. There were approximately 10,000 people present, and they heard BALDWIN call for more action by the Federal Government in the field of civil rights and more protection for the Negro people.

On December 10, 1963, [redacted] Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department, advised that his records indicate BALDWIN was a member of the Americans for Right to Travel Committee (ARTC).

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A characterization of the ARTC is contained in the Appendix of this report.

[redacted] further advised that the subject's name had appeared on an appeal published by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, 17 East 45th Street, New York City, which appeal demanded a cessation of nuclear tests.

Confidential sources familiar with various phases of CP activity in the New York area were unable to furnish any additional information concerning the subject.

Confidential sources familiar with NOI activity in the New York area were unable to furnish any information concerning the subject.

VI. DESCRIPTION

The following is a physical description of the subject; as furnished by NY T-14 and records of Credit Bureau of Greater New York:

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Name	JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
Race	Negro
Sex	Male
Date of Birth	August 2, 1924
Place of Birth	New York, New York
Age	39
Height	Five feet, six inches
Weight	130
Eyes	Brown
Hair	Black
Complexion	Dark
Marital Status	Single
Occupation	Writer, journalist
Residence	Apartment 6A 470 West End Avenue
Mother	BERDIS BALDWIN

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APPENDIX

1. AMERICANS RIGHT TO TRAVEL COMMITTEE

On July 13, 1962, a confidential source, advised that he had learned that [redacted] had organized the Americans Right to Travel Committee to protest the indictment of WILLIAM WORTHY for travel between Cuba and the United States without a passport.

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WILLIAM WORTHY was indicted on April 24, 1962, for violation of State Department regulations in that he travelled from Havana, Cuba, to Miami, Florida, without a valid passport. It is noted that his passport was revoked in 1956 when WORTHY made an unauthorized trip to China. On September 17, 1962, WORTHY was convicted in United States District Court, Southern District of Florida, Miami, Florida, for violation of this regulation and sentenced to one year, three months, committed, nine months probation. On the same date, he appealed the matter to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, New Orleans, which appeal is still pending.

On January 4, 1963, the above source advised he had recently learned from both WILLIAM WORTHY and [redacted] that the Americans Right to Travel Committee was either out of existence or dormant.

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APPENDIX

COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE
FOR MORTON SOBELL

"Following the execution of atomic spies ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG in June, 1953, the 'Communist campaign assumed a different emphasis. Its major effort centered upon MORTON SOBELL, 'the ROSENBERGS' codefendant. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case - a Communist front which had been conducting the campaign in the United States - was reconstituted as the National Rosenberg-Sobell Committee at a conference in Chicago in October, 1953, and 'then as the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case'. . . ."

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" dated December 1, 1961, issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, page 116.)

In September, 1954, the name "National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" appeared on literature issued by the Committee. In March, 1955, the current name, "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell," first appeared on literature issued by the Committee.

The Address Telephone Directory for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, as published by the New York Telephone Company, on April 16, 1963, lists the "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" (CSJMS) as being located at 940 Broadway, New York, New York.

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APPENDIX

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening In Cuba," placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. CHARLES A. SANTOS-BUCH identified himself and ROBERT TABER as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and TABER obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the afore-mentioned advertisement.

On May 16, 1963, a source advised that during the first two years of the FPCC's existence there was a struggle between Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) elements to exert their power within the FPCC and thereby influence FPCC policy. However, during the past year this source observed there has been a successful effort by FPCC leadership to minimize the role of these and other organizations in the FPCC so that today their influence is negligible.

On May 20, 1963, a second source advised that the National Headquarters of the FPCC is located in Room 329 at 799 Broadway, New York City. According to this source, the position of National Office Director was created in the Fall of 1962 and was filled by [redacted] who now formulates FPCC policy. This source observed [redacted] has followed a course of entertaining and accepting the cooperation of many other organizations including the CP and the SWP when he has felt it would be to his personal benefit as well as the FPCC's. However, [redacted] has indicated to this source he has no intention of permitting FPCC policy to be determined by any other organization. [redacted] feels the FPCC should advocate resumption of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States and support the right of Cubans to manage their revolution without interference from other nations, but not support the Cuban revolution per se.

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The CP and the SWP have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1963, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

On May 25, 1961, another source advised that "Freedomways" was set up for the CPUSA by James Jackson, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

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APPENDIX

1.

LIBERATION COMMITTEE FOR AFRICA

[] is Chairman of the Liberation Committee for Africa, an organization which has been described in newspaper articles as being nationwide with the aim of helping "African freedom fighters" and promoting awareness of a common heritage for Afro-Americans and Africans. ✓

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A source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in March, 1961, that [] was the guest speaker at a Philadelphia branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) Public Forum held on March 4, 1961, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

On July 10, 1963, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2,5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon".

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

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APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On July 10, 1963, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

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1.

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"National Guardian

- "1. 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly * * *. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)"

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APPENDIX

NEW YORK COUNCIL TO ABOLISH
THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
COMMITTEE

On March 9, 1961, a source advised that the New York Council To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAUAC), 150 West 34th Street, New York City, New York, was formed at a meeting held in New York City on November 17, 1960. This organization was founded principally through the efforts of FRANK WILKINSON, Field Representative of the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

A second source advised on September 17, 1952, that FRANK WILKINSON was a Communist Party member as of September, 1952.

A third source furnished on September 14, 1961, a copy of resolutions of the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAHUAC) which were adopted by the NYCAHUAC. One such resolution affirmed the intention to continue to work for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) and to continue its efforts to broaden the participation in this fight. Another resolution accepted as a modus vivendi the suggestion of the Field Representative of the "National Committee to Abolish the HCUA" (NCAHUAC) namely that local abolition committees may identify and co-ordinate their efforts as closely as they desire with NCAHUAC, still maintaining their autonomy for as flexible and independent a program as possible.

Various sources have advised during March, 1962, that Communist Party (CP) members in the New York City area have been solicited to support activities of the NYCAHUAC during attendance at CP club meetings.

On May 6, 1963, the first source advised that the NYCAHUAC continues to function from its office at 150 West 34th Street, New York City, New York.

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APPENDIX

1.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An Amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1946.

A source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party (CP) activity in the New Orleans area, advised on May 25, 1962, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, CP members were members of and worked actively in the SCHW. However, since the formation of the SCEF, rank and file CP members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the CP on certain issues, particularly on the racial question, and through the years certain CP members in the New Orleans area have been assigned to work in the organization to further CP principles.

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On May 25, 1962, the source advised that in the past he has considered JAMES DOMBROWSKI, the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a communist, if not an actual CP member, because he followed communist principles.

The source also advised on May 25, 1962, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communists.

Another source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a CP functionary, stated at a meeting of the CP in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the CP is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

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APPENDIX

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"WORKERS WORLD"

On May 6, 1963, a confidential source advised that the "Workers World" is the official newspaper of the Workers World Party, published twice monthly, with editorial offices located at 46 West 21st Street, New York, New York.

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~~SECRET~~1.APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~WORKERS WORLD PARTY

On April 17, 1959, a confidential source advised that on February 12, 1959, a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) minority group, under the leadership of National Committee member, SAM BALLAN, split from the SWP.

The source stated that this minority group, referred to as the Marcyites, after many years of program and policy differences on varied issues concerning tactics and interpretation of political events, split from the SWP on the grounds that the Party was liquidating itself by departing from the Marxist precepts of LEON TROTSKY and retreating from the fight for the world socialist revolution. The final issue which ultimately forced the split was the minority's opposition to the SWP regroupment policy which involved cooperation with the Communist Party (CP) periphery - individuals characterized by the minority as petty - bourgeois.

The minority program, according to the source, advocates unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and has as its goal the building of a revolutionary party with a complete proletarian orientation for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism in the United States and throughout the world.

On May 12, 1960, the source advised that this minority group had chosen the name Workers World Party.

On May 6, 1963, a second confidential source stated that the headquarters of the Workers World Party were located at 46 West 21st Street, New York, New York.

The SWP and the CP have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: January 15, 1964

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

SUBJECT: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Gregg
1 - Mr. Jackson
1 - Mr. Jones

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

The attached contains information from public sources that could possibly be utilized by Assistant Director DeLoach.

Subject's name is included in the Security Index. He has recently played an increasingly active role in the Negro civil rights movement and as an advocate of a racial policy of a mobilized Negro community he has made many inflammatory statements. He was critical of the Kennedy Administration's handling of civil rights matters, termed the appointment by Kennedy of Kenneth C. Royall and Earl H. Blaik as peacemakers in Birmingham as "cynical" and stated that obstruction of civil rights legislation in Congress could well be the spark to touch off widespread rioting.

Baldwin has also been associated with several Communist Party front organizations. In April, 1960, he was a sponsor of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and in October, 1961, was one of the sponsors of the Monroe Defense Committee. He addressed a public meeting of the New York City Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild in October, 1963. He was a sponsor of a rally to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee held in April, 1961, under the auspices of the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. In December, 1963, he was a speaker at a dinner held in New York City under sponsorship of Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that this memorandum and the attached be furnished to Mr. DeLoach for his consideration.

Enc.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

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DATE 5-17-83 BY SP8 BTJ/afp

WPJ:adg

108763/98
JAN 21 1964

53 JAN 23 1964

Handled 1/20/64
SUBV. CONTROL
W.F. [signature]

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Gregg
1 - Mr. Jackson
1 - Mr. Jones

January 15, 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-89 BY 2885 Jlag

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

James Arthur Baldwin, Negro novelist and writer, has recently become active in the Negro civil rights movement. He has made public utterances advocating a racial policy of a mobilized Negro community and has made many statements of an inflammatory nature. Baldwin was born August 2, 1924, in New York City and was educated in the New York City public schools. He lived in Paris for some time but presently maintains an apartment at 470 West End Avenue, New York City.

The June 3, 1963, issue of "Newsweek" magazine carried an article captioned "Kennedy and Baldwin; the Gulf," which reports on a meeting between Baldwin and Attorney General Robert Kennedy which was held on May 24, 1963, in New York City. The article relates that Baldwin, when interviewed, stated "He (Attorney General Kennedy) was surprised to hear there were Negroes who wouldn't fight to free Cuba when they can't be freed themselves."

"The New York Times" issue of February 4, 1962, carried an article indicating that a group of 19 American citizens, including Baldwin, had pledged on February 3, 1962, to defy any United States Government ban on shipments of medicines or food to Cuba.

On June 30, 1963, the "Miami News" reported that Baldwin warned that there are a lot of angry young people among his race and their tempers are wearing thin and that the self-control which Negro integrationists use in their non-violence campaign for equality is reaching the breaking point. Baldwin further was reported as stating that obstruction to President Kennedy's civil rights legislation in Congress could well be the spark to touch off widespread rioting.

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of September 27, 1963, contained an Associated Press article under the date line New York September 25, which states that Baldwin termed the appointment by President Kennedy of Kenneth C. Royall and Earl H. Blaik as peacemakers in Birmingham as "cynical." The article also quoted Baldwin as saying "We must make the establishment afraid of us."

62-108763

WPJ:cad

(11)

ENCLOSURE See Note Page 3

James Arthur Baldwin

On November 6, 1963, the "Washington Daily News" contained an article which stated that Baldwin, at a civil rights conference held at Howard University on November 5, 1963, made several veiled hints of future trouble. He is quoted as saying "I wonder how long we can endure--stand and not fight back." He also said he knew of "Many...even members of my own family who would think nothing of picking up arms tomorrow." The article also states that Baldwin advocates the use of the general strike as a means to achieve civil rights.

The April 6, 1960, issue of "The New York Times" contained an advertisement by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in which Baldwin was named as one of the sponsors,

The October 2, 1961, issue of the "National Guardian" carried an advertisement listing Baldwin as a sponsor of the Monroe Defense Committee; according to the advertisement this Committee was formed to tell the story of the racial violence which occurred in Monroe, North Carolina, in August, 1961.

The January 10, 1963, issue of the "National Guardian" revealed that Baldwin was among the signers of a statement urging the Anti Defamation League to withdraw its award to President Kennedy unless the Department of Justice dropped its "harassment" of William Worthy, Negro journalist who traveled to Red China and Cuba in defiance of a State Department ban.

The April 17, 1961, edition of the "National Guardian" carried an announcement of a "Rally to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee" to be held April 21, 1961, under the auspices of the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. Baldwin was listed as one of the sponsors of this rally.

The October 3, 1963, and October 10, 1963, editions of the "National Guardian" contained an announcement that Baldwin would be a speaker at a public meeting of the New York City Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild to be held October 18, 1963.

The November 7, 1963, edition of the "National Guardian" contained an announcement that Baldwin was to be one of the speakers at a "Bill of Rights Dinner" to be held December 13, 1963, in New York City under the sponsorship of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

James Arthur Baldwin

The New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee was founded principally through the efforts of the Field Representative of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, an organization cited as a communist front group by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA).

The National Lawyers Guild and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee have been cited as communist front groups by the HCUA.

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is a militant pro-Castro organization whose announced intention is to promulgate the truth about revolutionary Cuba.

The Monroe Defense Committee claims to have been founded on a broad nonpartisan basis to aid four individuals jailed in Monroe, North Carolina, on "trumped up kidnaping charges." Its officers included an individual described in 1956 as a member of the Communist Party and another individual who, according to a source, is a member of the Workers World Party, a splinter group of the Socialist Workers Party.

The "National Guardian" has been cited by the HCUA as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.

NOTE:

See memorandum Bland to W. C. Sullivan captioned "James Arthur Baldwin, Security Matter-C," dated 1/15/64, WPJ:cad.

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

12/10, 1963

☐ Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524
☐ Forward to File Review
☒ Attention George
☒ Return to Jones 822K
 Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)
☒ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
☐ Subversive References Only
☐ Nonsubversive References Only
☐ Main References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

Subject James A. Baldwin
 Birthdate & Place _____
 Address _____
 Localities DATE 10/14/87 BY SP-1 AG/EW
 R# _____ Date 12/10
 Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER SERIAL

NR 69-7923-106

NR 79-20329-1

James Allen Baldwin

NR 70-20329-3

James Arthur Baldwin

I 62-108763

LIT 62-108763-3 summary 5-29-63

I 157-6-74-28 summary 6-1-63

I 157-6-69

James Baldwin

HP 145-2625

PUBB New America Worker

I 157-6-A Herald state or

100-399301-74

I 100-3-75

I 100-208451-28

I 100-145282-9

I 157-6-A Wash. ID News

I 157-970-1031

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: James A Baldwin

Supervisor Glascock Room 827K

R# _____ Date 12/10 Searcher Initial SM

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

James Baldwin

~~I 157-6-29-256-v~~

~~SI 157-970-353-Ex 31;~~

~~NI 44-19646-14~~

~~SI 100-434868-4~~

~~I 157-387-163-Ex 44~~

~~SI 62-24823-A Tribune 6/1/61~~

~~SI 62-107055-2~~

~~NR 7-1820-14890, 15824~~

~~NR 25-330771-1918-p 22;~~

~~NR 2454~~

~~NR 100-26844-767~~

~~NI 100-37351-44~~

~~NI 100-235010-531~~

~~NR 26-208161-3~~

~~NI 61-771-15-323-p 1;~~

~~360 p 1, 361 p 1~~

~~NR 62-75147-29-365-p 57~~

~~NR 62-17909-676~~

~~NI 64-200-231-871X~~

~~NR 98-12164-1~~

~~NR 100-371445-6~~

~~NR 100-371445-6~~

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: James BaldwinSupervisor HiscockRoom 827R

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FILE NUMBERSERIAL~~SI 99-4196-380 p# 7, 39 p# 6~~~~SI 100-436190-A-Natl Guard.~~~~10/3/61 p# 2~~~~I 100-436190-7 p# 17, 18~~~~I 105-98055-8, 5, 4~~~~I 105-97964-100 p# 8, 10~~~~NI 97-4196-34-38 p# 2~~~~SI 66-1731-1979~~~~NI 100-11592-817 ext 1 p 4~~~~SI 97-4284-2 p# 8~~~~NP 97-4196-13 p# 1~~~~NP 97-4196-3 p# 1~~~~T 100-10355-974 p 17~~J. A. Baldwin~~NR 95-3837~~~~NR 46-20064-105 p# 14~~~~NR 80-99-1668~~~~NR 95-3856-7~~~~NR 95-3831-3~~

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

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Subj: James BaldwinSupervisor: GlascowRoom 827RB

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FILE NUMBERSERIAL

I	157-6-6444-20	378
NI	100-384660-749	20, 20B
NP	25-330771-34-95	
SI	41-7582-5399	
NP	100-3416-504	329, 45, 410
I	157-1025-A-NY Herald Tribune	
	7/19/63	
SI	41-7582-A-NY Herald Tribune	10/14/63
HIT IN	FILE	62-6-6444-20
NI	62-57980-59	
NP	62-46855-250	257
SI	100-3-116-A-NY Herald Tribune	9/24/63
I	157-2-NY Herald Tribune	9/24/63
SI	62-72-10241	
I	79-51387-379	
I	157-6-34-519	
SI	98-3-4-1498-10	
I	100-225892-685, 639	
I	100-7331-2229	
⑤ NP	100-341652-1041	13
I	100-106690-162	

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: James BaldwinSupervisor: PlascockRoom: 827RB

R#

Date

Searcher

Initial JW

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FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

~~SI 100-353404-331~~
~~NP 100-3776-444-562, 400, 445~~
~~I 100-433419-93~~
~~I 159-6-61-395-386~~
~~NP 92-4196-A- (action card 12/4/63) (no paper on card)~~
~~NP 100-434819-A- Peoples World~~
~~5-23-63~~
~~I 100-439190-417~~
~~I 145-7-210-11- Peoples World 5/11/63~~
~~NP 105-80333-32~~
~~NP 105-92048-18~~
~~I 159-6-174-143, 146~~
~~T 157-6-34-76, 73, 105~~
~~NP 100-159464-34~~
~~NP 140-1972-30~~
~~NI 99-4284-24 and p-7~~
~~SI 88-19435-237~~
~~I 100-434463-A- 701st. Guard 4/17/61~~
~~I 100-434868-8~~
~~I 100-434190-6 and p-3~~
~~SI 105-20110-109 2p~~
~~(4) NP 140-399321-46 p-17~~
~~I 97-4428-15 p-8~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: James A. BaldwinSupervisor Glascock Room 8224R# _____ Date 12/10 Searcher Initial SK

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBERSERIALJames BaldwinNI 100-16-32-198p #4;261p #4NR 103-14-1-1NR 105-103852-2, 1NT 105-65304-251p 6NR 110-11312-3NR 92-2211-139p #69NI 100-80639-42p #45I 159-634-580NR 15-34223-1I 105-87964-238I 105-20110-953I 105-20110-A Sports 12/1/63I 105-20110-A the Militant 1-21-63I 105-20110-A National Guardian 1-10-63I 105-20110-A the Militant 1-28-63NR 105-88708-19W. H. W.

(Insert Clipping in Space Below)

Date, page, no. of newspaper, city and state

C - 8

Herald Examiner
Los Angeles, Calif.

INGRAM, Jan. 14 - (AP) - The Civil Liberties Union of America today...

The Herald Examiner today... was a feature... of the cited Communist front... dais were Robert Thompson, a long-time communist official once charged with violating the Smith Act, and Harvey Fishbein, an official Communist.

Others at the party included a Levitt with a curly-haired young man... American student... Communist... Spanish... Un-American...

Cyrus Eaton... honored guest... a bid... American press... million... "hypnotized... communism" and...

ECOLC's... to fol... Dyf... and... on beha... who w... are you... young and... He went... he said... Oswald...

The record... Committee... American... the ECLC... Emergency... 1951, al... Communist... means of... Smith... One of... dissemin... agenda...

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-89 BY SP8 BTJ/afp

Date: 1/2/61
Edition: Sunset
Author: Stanton I, Jr.
Editor: Hugh A. ...
Title:

Character
or
Classification
Submitting Office: 48
☐ Being reviewed

162-168763-A-
NOT RECORDED
123 JAN 21 1964

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ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-384660-A-

Only, the man in the military, the famed "Black Jack" Pershing, has been honored as a General of the Armies. Now Sen. Stuart Symington has introduced legislation to bestow upon Douglas MacArthur the same six stars.

The white-haired Tom Dodd rose on the floor of the Senate the other day to offer these words of tribute to MacArthur:

"To millions of people at home and abroad, Douglas MacArthur has seemed a symbol and almost a personification of America in its finest aspects.

Physically there was an unforgettable surface picture. The striking countenance, the commanding figure, the legendary hat and glasses and the deep, resonant voice, the grand phrase, the unerring gesture.

Behind this surface picture were all the attributes of excellence: The supreme competence, the serene confidence, the intellectual power, the noble purpose, the complete commitment to the vision of an America that was unconquerable in the service of a just cause."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

JAMES BALDWIN

A New York Post Portrait—By FERN MARJA ECKMAN

ARTICLE I

JAMES BALDWIN, a small, dark splinter of a man, sits cross-legged on the couch, chain-smoking, imbibing a double scotch on the rocks at the slow, steady tempo he maintains throughout his waking hours, pausing now and then to scratch his calf and—just once—his elbow.

"Make this clear in your story," he says. "I do not hate white people. I can't afford to. Just because I want to live. And I haven't got enough emotional energy. There's some people I hate—but some of them are black.

"I think people mistake my vehemence—and, you know, this becomes so sad. I'm vehement and indignant. That's not the same thing as hatred. Or even the same thing as bitterness. Y'know?"

As he speaks, he strips off his shoes and socks and rubs his ankles. Then he slips down to the floor and perches there beside the coffee table, his back braced against the couch, his extravagant eyes almost level with the rim of the highball glass. He looks, for the moment, comfortable. His manner is friendly.

But what he says is drenched with the naked intensity that is Baldwin's style—in writing, in talking, in living. His words are delivered at an uneven pace, sometimes with a rush, sometimes with long, thoughtful intervals. His voice, resonant, a bit theatrical, with a hint of the vaulted intonation good English actors often have, blurs a little when he reaches a climax, running a phrase into a single, excited syllable.

"When I hit Publishers' Row," he says, "I was about 19. I had just come out of Harlem, you know. And you couldn't have been greener than I was. And why not take a gamble on me, y'know, since I was the first one out since Richard Wright?

"And nobody cared whether I could write or not. You know? I was such a cute little black boy. And it was so interesting that I wanted to try. You know? They wanted to be nice to me. Like a dancing dog,

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

21 NEW YORK POST

Date: 1/13/64

Edition: LATE CITY

Author: FERN M. ECKMAN

Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF

Title: JAMES BALDWIN

Character: MISC. INFO. CON

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: NYO

100-146553-89
 H.V.
 FBI - NEW YORK
 [Signature]

y'know? I've been in the profession for 20 years. And the people who ever really bet on me—I would use one hand. And have most of it left over . . ."

He stabs out his cigaret in the ashtray near his knee.

★ ★ ★

AT 39, JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN IS SALT rubbed in the wounds of the nation's conscience. He is a scream of pain. He is an accusing finger thrust in the face of white America. He is a fierce, brilliant light illuminating the unspeakable and the shameful.

Gadfly and bogle man, triumphant and despairing, he is an impassioned if reluctant spokesman for the inarticulate Negro, a spokesman initially appointed—and anointed—by the whites.

In his oratory, and less frequently in his prose, there are apt to be passages clouded by confusion; and his political innocence makes a number of his allies apprehensive. But his emotional impact is uncompromising: harsh, violent and beautiful.

He is an American phenomenon. Edmund Wilson regards him as one of the country's great creative artists. Like every creative artist, Baldwin mirrors the time and the place into which he was born. In his frail person, he embodies the paradoxes and the potentials of the racial revolution in the U. S.

Three times now his books have won a place on the best-seller list. His most recent volume, "The Fire Next Time," ranked among the top five for 41 weeks. This popularity, virtually unprecedented for an essay, confirms his commercial attractions and enhances his literary prestige.

Newspapers quote him regularly. TV has been so ardent in its pursuit that Baldwin's old-young features with their medieval cast have flashed on the screen often enough to seem ubiquitous. Civil rights leaders in Selma, Ala., summon him to participate in a Negro registration drive. His name insures capacity audiences

at integration rallies in Harlem and North Carolina.

The New Actors Studio Theater and the almost equally new Lincoln Center Repertory Theater vied for the privilege of opening with his play, "Blues for Mr. Charlie." Motion picture executives clamor to meet him. Canada confers upon him an honorary Doctorate of Letters.

And at least one publisher who may once have thought of Baldwin as a cute little black boy recently offered him \$1,000,000 for a long-term contract.

"I am now a famous person," Baldwin commented not long ago, standing in the rubbish-strewn backyard of the Utopia Neighborhood Club House in Harlem at the tail-end of a press conference on desegregation. "But let me try and get an apartment in New York..."

★ ★ ★

IN THE COURSE OF AN EIGHT-YEAR round-trip from Manhattan to Paris and back again to this city (which he still rages against with undiminished ferocity), Jimmy Baldwin acquired a credo he is fond of recommending to listeners throughout the U. S. as a practical technique for survival — hemispheric as well as personal.

"Go for broke," he urges.

It is Baldwin's conviction that safety is at best illusory. "If you accept the fact that you never will be safe," he told a group of lawyers the other day, "then you will be on the road to the only real safety. One day everybody in this room—me and even you, honey—will be dead."

"Go for broke" is at once a measure of his suffering and a means of communicating whatever wisdom he has extracted from the experience. It is not intended—it is never intended—to invoke the more orthodox forms of flag-waving heroism.

More than most human beings, Baldwin is acutely conscious of his own fear. "All I know of my own life," he says, "is that I've been scared to death for 39 years and six months. But, if you're scared to death, walk toward it."

Baldwin has walked toward it often enough now to have developed a tolerance for both peril and his own rubber-legged response to it. He demonstrated that in dramatic form a year ago on New Year's Eve. Shortly before midnight, he called actor Rip Torn, a Southerner.

"It was snowing," Torn recalls. "I said to my wife [Geraldine Page], 'Why don't we have this New Year's just for us?' I opened a bottle of champagne and we watched television. Then the telephone rang. It was Jimmy."

"He wanted us to come over right away. I said, 'We're not getting out of this house tonight for anyone.' And Jimmy said: 'But you don't understand. I'm going down South tomorrow. And I'm frightened.'"

Torn picked up Baldwin the next morning. His terror had not abated. But, escorted to the airport in a cab by his friend and his customary retinue, warmed by a bottle of liquor, stoked by some cookies Torn had stolen from Miss Page ("they are her hidden vice"), Baldwin got on the plane and flew South to keep his rendezvous with James Meredith in Mississippi.

★ ★ ★

"I'M SMALL AND I HAVE BIG EYES," SAYS

Jimmy Baldwin, "and I come on, you know, kind of dramatic. But there's something very misleading about my manner. I'm not entirely what I look like..."

He looks like a wood carving in a Gothic cathedral (not Notre Dame, which he doesn't care for, but perhaps Chartres, which he loves). He is economically built, even stingily, tiny and narrow, so thin it's hard to believe he casts a shadow.

But there is a nervous vitality in him that is self-perpetuating, a delight that not infrequently brims over, submerging the grief. Still, he could often say, as he did in a letter to an editor at Dial Press several years ago: "I have been way down yonder in the valley by myself, where I couldn't hear nobody pray. Except, occasionally, me."

He moves swiftly, constantly, like a flickering light. "I hate using a 19th century word like mercurial," says novelist Norman Mailer, "but Jimmy is one person I'd apply that to. He's sensitive, like an exposed nerve. His affirmations are always full of little denials, his denials always full of little reservations."

Baldwin deliberately leaves himself wide open to life, erecting none—or few—of the usual barriers behind which most of us huddle. Those who connect with him, struggling to pin down this unfamiliar quality, flounderingly describe Baldwin as "a saint" or as one who is "uncorrupted finally in the really important areas."

He himself puts forward an alternate interpretation: "I'm suggesting that one try to listen to one's heart," he says. "And tell the truth. In my own experience, the only thing which is really frightening is the effort one makes to avoid it—to avoid the truth. Nothing—nothing—has ever happened to me as bad as what I thought it would be. And the worst things that ever happened to me in my life have always been—on this level, anyway—when I was trying to, in one way or another, convince myself of something which I knew wasn't true—because I was afraid to face it."

Continued Tomorrow



'I've been scared to death for 39 years and six months ...'

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

JAMES BALDWIN

A New York Post Portrait—By FERN MARJA ECKMAN

ARTICLE II

NOT FAR FROM the East River, in a second-floor apartment on East 3d St. where James Baldwin has been the intermittent guest in recent months of a German-born patent attorney, the Venetian blinds are drawn to bar the glare of the sun—and perhaps to simulate twilight, a time of the day the 39-year-old writer finds congenial.

The living room has the casual disarray of masculine housekeeping. One pair of shoes stands pigeon-toed on the gray-blue rug; another pair is lined up beside a bookcase stocked with French, German and English titles. A shirt and a tie are draped around the back of a chair. Empty cups and glasses dot the table tops.

It is early afternoon but Baldwin is still asleep. His secretary and closest friend, Lucien Happersberger, 31, a Swiss painter who commutes between his wife and two sons in Lausanne and Baldwin in New York or Paris, explains that the author went to bed at 7 a.m.

A reading of his just completed play, "Blues for Mr. Charlie," had occupied him until that hour. ("I always wanted to be an actor," he admits.) However, it is not unusual for Baldwin to retire just as the rest of New York is preparing to rise. He complains gloomily that his "night habits" are aggravated by the city of his birth.

A copy of the new manuscript lies open on the couch and on the cocktail table, next to an overlaid ash tray, is a list of the characters dashed off in Baldwin's handwriting. "Me" is printed next to two of the roles and "David"—Baldwin's youngest brother, who is trying out for a part in the Actors Studio Theater production—next to three more.

Marie-France, a pert, young Frenchwoman married to the first-floor tenant, a ruffled apron inadequately covering her slacks and blouse, drifts about flicking a dust cloth at the furniture and chattering animatedly to Happersberger in French between his sessions at the telephone.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

21 NEW YORK POST

Date: 1/14/64
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: FERN MARJA ECKMAN
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: JAMES BALDWIN

Character: MISC INFO CON
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: NYO

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JAN 14 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Banks

Straightening a pile of magazines, Marie-France gets absorbed in a pictorial weekly and sits down to thumb through it. She glances up with mild interest when the bedroom door opens and Baldwin emerges, cradling a coffee cup in his left hand, at precisely 12:45 p.m.

"Good morning," he says pleasantly. He smiles and moves across the room with big, easy, loose-hipped strides. He is wearing a white sweatshirt with three red stripes daubed on the back ("a joke—it means I'm a member of the U. S. Olympic Drinking Team"), black chinos and simple, expensive-looking sandals he bought in Puerto Rico last summer.

★ ★ ★

A HALF HOUR LATER, STILL NURSING HIS coffee, he gives his attention at last—only 70 minutes behind schedule—to the reporter. This amounts to punctuality for Baldwin. Flamboyantly disorganized, he can be relied upon to be hours late for appointments or not to show up at all, a habit that keeps his business associates on edge with anxiety.

As the day progresses, Baldwin swings through his regular daily cycle of liquid nourishment, sipping first coffee (his breakfast), then beer (from the can) and, finally, Scotch augmented by a spoonful of water. It is growing dark before he starts to toy with eggs and toast.

"Jimmy," publicity woman Andrea Smargon remarked the other day, "is not an armored person." Baldwin pays unconscious tribute to the accuracy of her observation by ranging over a score of subjects, exposing each of them to the lightning play of his candor, wit, anger and eloquence.

He discusses love and hate ("equally terrifying"), marriage ("you know, I've been nearly married—three times"), Gide ("too defensive") and, with a burst of laughter that creases his thin cheeks into multiple folds, his own gullibility ("I don't care what the story is—any story, y'know, no matter what you're saying, it just fascinates me and, while I'm listening to you, I'll believe it").

Propping up his knees, he loops his arms around his jack-knifed legs and stares hard at the visitor. "I intend to become a great novelist," he says gravely. Baldwin is given to periodic reiteration of this ambition. Each time he sounds as though he were intoning a vow, possibly in defiance of critical insistence that he is primarily an essayist.

The reporter mentions that two of Baldwin's three novels, "Giovanni's Room" and the recent "Another Country," revolve around homosexuality, a circumstance that almost prevented the publication of the former. Baldwin corrects this: homosexuality, he points out, is also "implicit" in the boy's situation in "Go Tell It on the Mountain," his first book.

Unhesitatingly he then proceeds to explain the motivation for the recurrent theme in his fiction:

"There are two reasons for it, I think," he says. "Which are the same reason. The most brutal aspect of it, which is why people make such a fuss about the homosexuality in my novels—the real reason behind the fuss is that, no matter what they—I mean white people—say, I was once a Negro adolescent in this country.

"And, for example, when I hit the Village, one of the reasons why my years there were so terrifying was not only because of white women—but also because of white men. Who looked just like ———." He names a prominent national figure symbolic of conversatism, respectability and bumbling idealism.

"And I was a ktd," Baldwin says furiously. "I didn't know any of the things I've since had to find out. People got mad at 'Another Country.' And the reason they got mad is because it's true. And it's much worse than that.

"It would not ever happen that way in any other country of the world—except, possibly, Germany. And in this country, what we call homosexuality is a grotesque kind of—of waxworks. You know? Which is the other side of what we call heterosexuality here."

His eyes blaze with contempt. "Nobody makes any connections—men or women, or men and men, nobody!" he says. "Parents and children—nobody makes any connections! So, naturally, you get, you know—you get this truncated, galvanized activity which thinks of itself as sex."

"It's not sex at all. It's pure desperation. It's *clinical*. Do y'know? It comes out of the effort to tell one's self a lie about what human life is like. It comes out of the attempt to cling to definitions which cannot contain anybody's life.

"American homosexuality is a waste primarily because, if people were not so *frightened* of it—if it wouldn't, you know—it really would cease in effect, as it exists in this country now, to *exist*. The only people who talk about homosexuality, you know, the way—in this *terrible* way—are Americans. And Englishmen and Germans. The Anglo-Saxons. The Puritans.

★ ★ ★

"IN ITALY, YOU KNOW, MEN KISS EACH OTHER and boys go to bed with each other. And no one is marked for life. No one imagines that—and they grow up, you know, and they have children and raise them. And no one ends up going to a *psychiatrist* or turning into a junkie because he's afraid of being *touched*.

"You know *that's* the root of the whole—of the American thing. It's not a fear of—it's not a fear of men going to bed with *men*. It's a fear of anybody touching *anybody*. That's what it comes to. And that's what's so horrible about it.

"If you're a Negro, you're in the center of that peculiar affliction—because *anybody* can touch you—when the sun goes down. You know, you're the target for everybody's fantasies.

"If you're a Negro, female whore, he comes to you and asks you to do for him what he wouldn't ask his wife to do—nor any other *white* woman. But you're a *black* woman." Hate, deadly, undisguised, seethes in his voice. "So you can do it—because you know how to do *dirty things*.

"And, if you're a *black* boy, you wouldn't believe the holocaust that opens over your head—with all these despicable—*males*—looking for somebody to act out their fantasies on. And it happens in this case—if you are 16 years old—to be *you*!"

The final word explodes, leaving Baldwin panting. The visitor, overwhelmed, gropes for an appropriate comment, fails, interjects weakly, "But, in Italy, they—"

"They understand," says Baldwin, cutting in, "that people were born to touch each other."

★ ★ ★

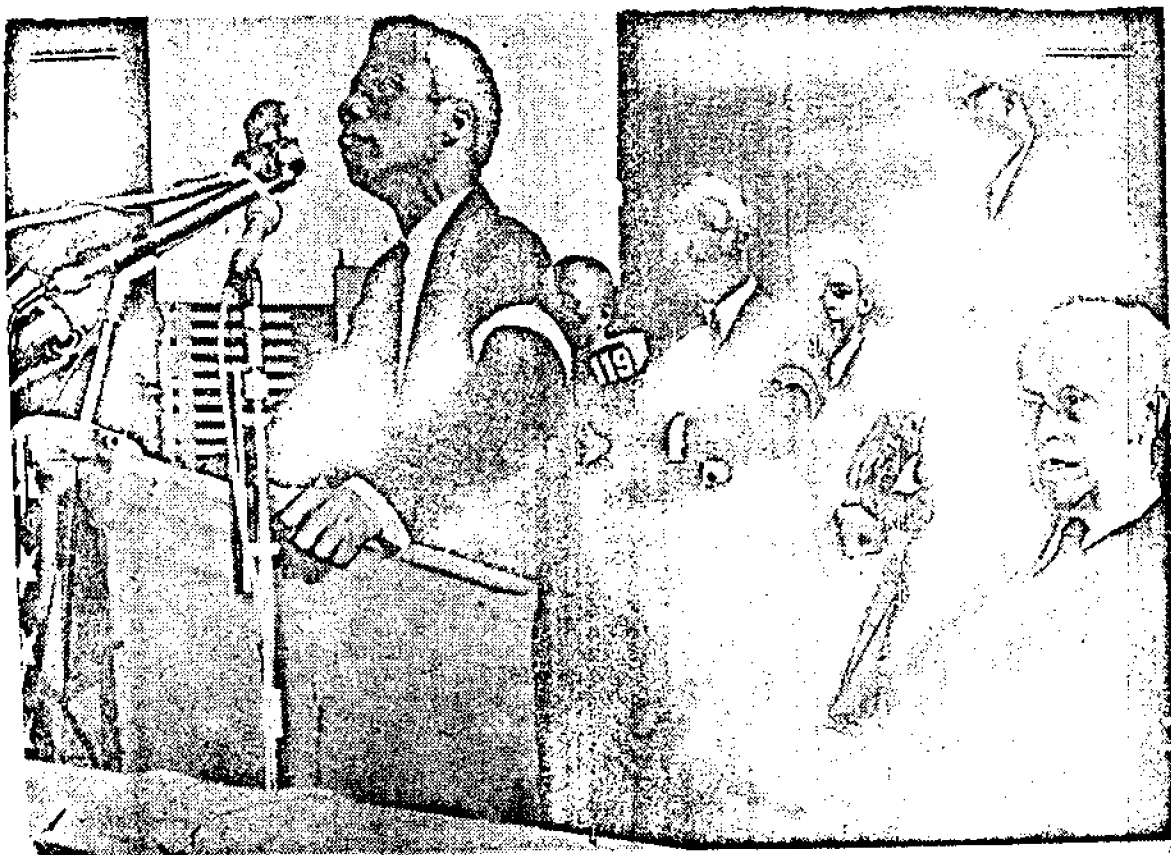
THE DOOR OPENS AND HIS BROTHER GEORGE,

35, a shy, handsome man, next to the author in age, enters. He stands there, holding on to the door-knob, in some way immobilized by the high-voltage arc of emotion still crackling through the room.

Then Baldwin nods at the newcomer. The tension snaps. "Hi," says George Baldwin gladly. As though released from a spell, he shuts the door behind him and walks in.

Jimmy Baldwin takes a deep breath. He reaches for a cigaret. The lighter flares, illuminating his slender, elegant hands. Then he pivots a little, picks up a turquoise pillow and thumps it—once, twice—against his sandaled foot.

Continued Tomorrow.



Baldwin, and Socialist Norman Thomas; at Foley Square rally mourning Birmingham bomb victims.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

JAMES BALDWIN

A New York Post Portrait—By FERN MARJA ECKMAN

ARTICLE III

JAMES BALDWIN, who has excavated almost every level of his life, mining it for the raw materials that form the foundations of his novels, essays and plays, has never written about his childhood.

"Well," he said the other day, "I think it's one of the things that I've avoided looking at."

Perhaps only a masochist would have done otherwise. Baldwin's earliest years were a period of such unrelieved anguish that survival preoccupied him completely, delaying even recognition of the racial struggle that eventually led him to exile himself from the U. S. for almost a decade.

In his first book, "Go Tell It on the Mountain," a work of fiction he acknowledges as autobiographical, Baldwin told the story of John Grimes, a Harlem boy who turns preacher at 14, huge-eyed, undersized, bright, hungry, poetic, sensitive—and born out of wedlock, a circumstance his mother's husband, himself a clergyman, never forgives.

James Arthur Baldwin, also huge-eyed, undersized, bright, hungry, poetic, sensitive, was born in Harlem Hospital on Aug. 2, 1924. The eldest of nine children in a family always uncertain of enough to eat, he was inevitably assigned the responsibility of looking after his brothers and sisters. Any failure in this area, real or fancied, drew swift retribution from his father.

David Baldwin, a clergyman from New Orleans, was the Harlem counterpart of Edward Barrett of Wimpole Street. An unloving and unloved figure, Baldwin was upright, forbidding and pathologically stern, with an unlimited capacity for introspection and bitterness.

He viewed the entire white world as his enemy. But, with that tragic vulnerability inherent in disadvantaged minorities, he despised himself because he believed the worst the enemy said of him.

The constantly expanding household included the youngest son of his first marriage, Sam, on whom David Baldwin lavished all his affection. It was not reciprocated. Samuel Baldwin fled when he was 11, forever severing communication with his father, leaving many heir to a strange and unrelenting battle.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

35 NEW YORK POST

Date: 1/15/64
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: FERN MARJA ECKMAN
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
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Character: MISC INFO CON
or
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Submitting Office: NYO

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

JAN 15 1964

FBI - NEW YORK

The boy was precocious, dependable, gifted. These were virtues David would have prized in Sam. In Jimmy, their possession amounted to betrayal—and was punished as such. Thus all his assets of intellect and personality were transformed into dangerous liabilities. Each time he distinguished himself in another bid for his father's approval, he merely succeeded in firing his father's rage. It was a murderous relationship.

★ ★ ★

"I WAS LITTLE AND I WAS UGLY," BALDWIN said recently. "You know, you always take your estimate of yourself from what the world says about you. I was always told I was ugly. My father told me that. 'I guess the one thing my father did do for me was that he taught me how to fight. I had to know how to fight because I fought him so hard. He taught me—what my real weapons were. Which were patience. And a kind of ruthless determination. Because I had to endure whatever it was; to endure it; to go under and come back up; to wait.'"

"He taught me everything I know about hate. Which means he taught me everything I know about love, too. When he died, I realized what I really wanted was for him to love me. For me to be able to prove myself to him."

(Baldwin's traumatic wounds, nerve-deep, still inflict pain. Only three years ago, in Stockholm, he was shaken by a spasm of envy when Ingmar Bergman casually noted that, after an interlude of conflict, he and his father were close friends.)

Once Sam had quit the battlefield, David Baldwin's impartial hostility united his family against him. His wife, Mrs. Berdis Emma Baldwin, functioned as a kind of underground. "She did things for us behind his back," the author said of his mother not long ago. "She was our ally. But it was part of our common situation not to impose too great a burden on her."

Her "exasperating" and "mysterious" pregnancies never ceased to alarm him. He was always afraid she wouldn't come back. But he faithfully supervised his charges, diapering the babies, walking the toddlers—two at a time—in a stroller, shepherding the

older children on risky expeditions to the Bond plant across the river, where he would buy six loaves of day-old bread and—with luck—rush them home before prowling gangs could hijack them.

"He was my right arm," says Mrs. Baldwin, a woman of gentle presence and dignity who insisted upon working as a domestic until a little more than a year ago. "He lived in books. He'd sit at a table with a child in one arm and a book in the other."

"The first book he ever read through was 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' He was about 8. There was something about that book. I couldn't understand it. He just read it over and over and over again. I even hid it away—up in a closet. But he rambled around and found it again. And, after that, I stopped hiding it."

(In 1949, more critical, Baldwin indulged in a savage attack on the "self-righteous, virtuous sentimentality" of Mrs. Stowe's novel.)

School, where Jimmy Baldwin scored a series of notable successes, was an affliction for him. "I was physically a target," he said. "It worked against me, y'know, to be the brightest boy in class and the smallest boy in class. And I suffered. So I really loathed it."

("I remember him as a very slim, small boy with that haunted look he has still," comments Mrs. Gertrude Ayer, the retired principal of PS 24.)

At Frederick Douglass JHS, Baldwin continued to roll up excellent grades, but they provided little compensation for what he endured at home. "With whom could I share it?" Baldwin inquires now. "When I told my mother, she was frightened—because my father didn't like it. I simply exposed myself more."

("He was talented even then," says Dr. Florence Einstein of JHS 139, where Baldwin was honored last June as alumnus of the year. "I wasn't his teacher, but I have a vivid memory of him. He didn't mingle with many of the boys. They used to make fun of him. They called him 'bug eyes' and thought he was aissy because he excelled in English.")

★ ★ ★

WHEN JIMMY BALDWIN WAS 14, HE UNDERwent "a prolonged religious crisis" and, in the course of it, was "saved." In "Down at the Cross," he has reported:

"One moment I was on my feet, singing and clapping and, at the same time, working out in my head the plot of a play I was working on then; the next moment, with no transition, no sensation of falling, I was on my back, with the lights beating down on my face and all the vertical saints above me."

This experience led him into the pulpit. For three hysteria-tinged years, he preached "the Word," reveling in a most unholy fashion over his superiority to his father as a ministerial drawing card.

(Now, assessing his adolescent performance, he says candidly, "I was a great preacher." And, of course, he still is.)

On weekdays, young Brother Baldwin attended De Witt Clinton High School. There he edited the literary magazine, read Dostoevski and faltered in his determination to gain heaven—which might prove, after all, to be just another ghetto.

"It's funny," says Frank Corsaro, once a fellow-student, now the director of Baldwin's new play. "Jimmy was the saddest-looking little soul. I was involved with the drama productions and he would hover about, shy, almost droopy, very remote—always on the edge of things.")

Several weeks ago, addressing a civil rights rally at the Community Church, Baldwin declared: "I was born in Harlem, I was raised in Harlem and, indeed, as long as I live, I'll never be able to leave Harlem."

In a sense, this is true. Harlem is an extension of Baldwin's family. He carries it with him wherever he goes. But the facts are that he left Harlem at 17 and has never really returned—unless it can be said that the skinny kid who ran away from home is still there, intact, in the person of the even skinnier celebrity who has been welcomed on four continents, earns \$100,000 a year and remains a stranger everywhere.

Industry, its labor market depleted by war, offered Baldwin what appeared to be an escape hatch. It plunged him instead, fresh from graduation, unwary and unprepared, into the torrents of racism. In Belle Mead, N. J., he worked first on the railroad and then on the construction of the Army's Quartermaster Depot.

★ ★ ★

"I WAS WORKING WITH A WHOLE GANG OF Southerners," he said recently. "And I caught hell. It was a great revelation that people could be so—so monstrous. My childhood was awful, but it was awful in another way. I hadn't made any clear connection between the fact of my color and the fact of my childhood. It seemed not possible for me to think of myself as 'a nigger,' you know. I fought back. So I spent more than a year out there, fighting my co-workers, fighting my bosses, fighting the town."

Every week he sent most of his salary to his mother, an act of repentance that drained his father's pride. Jimmy Baldwin went home only once that year. His father refused to talk to him. On July 29, 1943, David Baldwin died of tuberculosis and self-starvation induced by paranoia.

In "Notes of a Native Son," James Baldwin wrote his father's epitaph: "I do not remember, in all those years, that one of his children was ever glad to see him come home."

Continued Tomorrow.



Photo by Colvoco
Contrasting studies of James Baldwin
Photo by Paul Watari

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

JAMES BALDWIN

A New York Post Portrait—By FERN MARJA ECKMAN

ARTICLE IV

JAMES BALDWIN is convinced that "experience, which destroys innocence, also leads one back to it." Judged by this concept, he himself must long ago have retrieved a child-like purity.

The 39-year-old writer has always flung his arms open to life, remaining enthusiastically receptive to its sometimes flattering, often malicious attentions. "Jimmy," his intimates confide in explanation, apology and exasperation, "can't say no."

But the day of his father's funeral and his own 19th birthday was a memorable exception. That was the day Baldwin, for a year his family's financial bulwark, heard his despairing mother cry, "I am a widow with eight small children." The number obsessed him.

The eldest of his eight brothers and sisters was 15; the baby, born a few hours after her father's death, was four days old. Baldwin did some simple arithmetic—and was appalled by the result.

"I figured out," he explained recently, "that by the time the youngest kid would be able to take care of herself, I'd be 36. And it would be harder to begin a career then. I'd seen a lot of brilliant, unhappy, miserable and evil people—trapped in Harlem, in various basements, being janitors. And they really were brilliant. That's why they became so monstrous."

"And I could see it happen to me. It would happen to me—if I stayed. And I was ready to take a very long shot: the shot was simply that I would turn into a writer before my mother died and before the children were all put in jail—or became junkies or whores. But I knew I had to jump then."

Baldwin did jump. He jumped to Greenwich Village. He jumped to five years he has since characterized as "desperate."

The traditions of creative non-conformity in the community swirling around Washington Square had first attracted him when he was 16, intent upon exploring the world beyond Harlem. But, when he moved in, the bloom rubbed off. Fast.

In Harlem, he had been too busy keeping his brothers and sisters off the streets to familiarize himself with temptation. Now all the sins catalogued by his puritanical father were thrust before him.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

25 NEW YORK POST

Date: 1/16/64
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: FERN M. ECKMAN
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: JAMES BALDWIN

Character: MISC. INFO. CON.

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: NYO

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SEARCHED
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INDEXED
FILED
JAN 20 1964
FBI - NEW YORK
J. B. [Signature]

Whatever defenses he had so painfully evolved in the past were suddenly, abysmally ineffectual. He was too young, too small, too poor, too black—in short, he says, too “visible.”

I got into trouble with cops,” he recalls. “I got into trouble with landladies. I got into trouble with everybody. The cops wanted to know why I wasn’t uptown. There were only half a dozen Negroes scattered throughout the Village. It wasn’t like it is now.

“And people you thought were friends would—you know, you’d go to somebody’s party—and get beaten up. And I went with a lot of white girls in those days, without realizing that—there was no love in it, y’know. I was just kind of a—I was a stud. I didn’t know that either. I made a lot of discoveries in those years—all of them horrible.”

★ ★ ★

THERE ARE CYNICS IN THE VILLAGE WHO contend that Baldwin was less victimized than subsidized by whites. He shrugged at this, first amused, then abruptly irate.

“I’ve won a few fellowships,” he conceded. “Probably because there was no one around to give them to. And they pick their Negroes. No, I think white people—you know, white liberals or people who say that I’ve been subsidized by whites—are deluded.

“The principal thing they are saying is that I made it because of them, you know. And they think that because I am now a star that it proves something about them. It doesn’t prove anything about them at all. It proves that I managed to survive—and that’s all it proves.”

At 21, he was introduced to his boyhood idol, Richard Wright, who read 50 pages of the first version of “Go Tell It on the Mountain,” liked what he read and maneuvered for Baldwin a Eugene F. Saxton Memorial Trust Award. A couple of years later, he won a Rosenwald Fellowship.

But he worked for his rewards. He worked right around the clock on a regimen that almost destroyed his health and his reason. During the day, he held down a series of full-time jobs—in defense plants, in

restaurants (he waited on tables at the old Calypso for 18 months), once on the newspaper PM, where he was a copyboy. At night, Baldwin wrote, establishing a topsy-turvy schedule he retains today.

His novel collapsed, forcing him to reassess his career and start again on a less ambitious level. He sold book reviews to The Nation and The New Leader (“about the Negro problem, concerning which the color of my skin made me automatically an expert”), an essay on Harlem to Commentary.

Averaging four hours’ sleep in 24, he finished two more ill-fated books: a documentary on Harlem’s store front churches and “Ignorant Armies,” a novel based on the Wayne Lonergan murder case.

“Probably a very bad book,” he says now. “But I was fascinated by the case. And I was dealing with—well, what I was grappling with really, without knowing it, was the—all the implications in this society of being bisexual. Though I could not have put it that way to myself, then. It was just—you know, I was really untouched. Another reason the Village years were so difficult.”

By the fall of 1948, his morale was so fragile and his confusion so apparent that a friend warned, “Get out—you’ll die if you stay here.” Baldwin passionately concurred with this prognosis. He felt he had lost his identity.

“I could not be certain,” he wrote later, “whether I was really rich or really poor, really black or really white, really male or really female, really talented or a fraud, really strong or merely stubborn . . .”

★ ★ ★

BALDWIN HAS AN ACTOR’S INTUITIVE TIMING

(“I know when to leave the party, baby”). He recognized his exit cue. Recklessly he booked passage for Paris, planning to cover his fare with the final instalment of his Rosenwald grant.

But the ship sailed three days before his check arrived. Slipping the precious piece of paper in his pocket, he wandered around, feverishly indecisive, numbed by the conflicting advice lavished upon him, all of it oracular.

At the end of four days, terrified he would fritter away the money, he bought a one-way plane ticket to France. Then, and only then, did he dare say goodbye to his family.

“What happened is this,” he said not long ago. “That I was born in Harlem, which is not New York.

And, at a tender age, I left Harlem, which ~~seemed~~, you know, like a prison, to come downtown—which is New York. And uptown, you know, I've been beaten up half to death—and got almost slaughtered downtown, y'know.

"So that by the time I was 24—since I was not stupid—I realized that there was no point in my staying in the country at all. If I'd been born in Mississippi, I might have come to New York. But, being born in New York, there's no place that you can go. You have to go out. Out of the country. And I went out of the country and I never intended to come back here ~~ever~~."

As he was attending, he climbed aboard the plane, scarcely jubilant. Flying across the Atlantic, he promised himself nothing worse could happen on another continent than was bound to have happened to him in the U. S. ("Even if go there and drop dead," he told himself darkly, with an Ibsenesque flourish: "Catch syphilis and go mad.")

It was mid-November. Fog shrouded Paris. Baldwin's fear rapidly outstripped his jubilation as the plane circled the field for hours. It was a rather shaky American who finally set foot on foreign soil with \$10 and a French vocabulary consisting of little more than "bonjour."

"There I was," Baldwin says now. "And Paris was awful. It was winter. It was gray. And it was ugly."

But he was cheered by a waiting friend who took him straight to a cafe in St. Germain des Pres, Les Deux Magots, an existentialist hangout where Sartre often held court. There Baldwin glimpsed a more familiar literary figure—Wright.

THE OLDER MAN USHERED HIS YOUNG COMPATRIOT to a hotel and bowed out. Swiftly Baldwin's resources evaporated. So did his welcome. He was locked out. Borrowing funds from a Negro architect, Baldwin recovered his baggage. The reunion was brief. He sold his clothes, then his typewriter.

Right after Thanksgiving, at a small hotel owned by a kindly disposed Corsican woman, Baldwin "went to pieces," a process begun at home but hastened by his exposure to the chill of the Paris streets, the inadequacy of his clothing and the certain knowledge that he really "had to go for broke"—or perish.

He neither died nor went mad, of course. But he did learn that he could be at least as hungry and as cold in Paris as in New York. What kept him abroad for eight years was a heady sense of release. At home, he had scrupulously refrained from eating watermelon as a protest against the stereotypes. In Paris, he was relieved of all the complexities of the black man's burden.

"I didn't have to worry about acting 'like a nigger,'" he summed up recently. "I didn't have to prove anything to anybody. I didn't have to walk around, you know, with one-half of my brain trying to please Mr. Charlie and the other half trying to kill him."

"I felt that I was left alone to become whatever I wanted to become. That it was up to me. The trouble I got into in Paris was me. It wasn't—you know, it wasn't some weird abstraction called The American Negro. That's what it did for me."

Continued Tomorrow.



WRIGHT

He found an aboard.



BALDWIN

Paris was just as cold.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Evans _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

JAMES BALDWIN

A New York Post Portrait—By FERN MARJA ECKMAN

ARTICLE V

IT WAS IN Europe that James Baldwin became an American.

In the U.S. he had felt himself an alien—and an enemy alien at that. But, divided from the land of his birth by an ocean, liberated from the collective anonymity that transforms the Negroes of this country into invisible men, Baldwin reconciled himself to his identity.

The process was gradual. Breaking out of the ghetto, he was still its victim. He suffered from what he once described as the "profound, almost ineradicable self-hatred" with which this nation endows its black citizens. Perhaps it was inevitable that he should initially seek to forget his color; it was, after all, inextricably bound up in his mind and in his blood with the bitter humiliation he had endured at home.

During the eight years he lived abroad, Baldwin infrequently associated with Negroes. Then, as now, his intimates, few in number, were usually white.

"When Jimmy was in his 20s in Paris," explains a Baldwin admirer, lowering his voice several decibels, "he thought seriously of never being a Negro again—certainly never a Negro in America."

Reality did not, of course, conform with this fantasy. Even life in sanctuary—and that is what France represented to him—was not devoid of dilemma. Confronted with Europe's abundant testimony to Western culture, Baldwin, searching in vain for a reflection of himself or his African heritage, despairingly concluded he was an interloper.

"What was the most difficult," he wrote later after merciless self-examination, "was the fact that I was forced to admit something I had always hidden from myself, which the American Negro has had to hide from himself as the price of his public progress; that I hated and feared white people. This did not mean that I loved black people; on the contrary, I despised them, possibly because they failed to produce Rembrandt. In effect, I hated and feared the world."

It is Baldwin's thesis that he has since purged himself of this hate and this fear. But the fury smoldering in his prose and flaring up in his speeches invites a measure of skepticism. Even while counseling peace, Baldwin communicates violence.

In any event, in Paris and later, in the tiny Swiss village of Loches-Bains, James Baldwin came to recognize—and possibly even accept—both his nationality and his race.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

39 NEW YORK POST

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 1/17/89 BY SP-7 JAB

Date: 1/17/64
 Edition: LATE CITY
 Author: FERN M. ECKMAN
 Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
 Title: JAMES BALDWIN

Character: MISC. INFO. CON

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: NYO

1-29-64
 WPJ:mlf

62-107745-20
 ENCLOSURE

★ ★ ★
 "SOMETHING STRUCK ME IN PARIS," THE 39-year-old author confessed the other day. "I didn't realize what a pariah I was until I found myself dealing with people, you know, whose morality was entirely different from my father's. Which was the morality I carried around with me, really. It was—it was really kind of humiliating to discover it."

"And I watched myself, you know. Just like any other little American. I was doing my best to avoid all the things which I thought of—that I'd been brought up to believe were amoral. But I couldn't—I couldn't, on the other hand, avoid realizing—because I was dealing with the streets of Paris, and with Arabs and Africans, and French whores and pimps and street boys, you know—that there was something very beautiful, no matter how horrible."

"I know, I saw some—I saw some tremendous things. And some of those people were very nice to me and, in a way, I owe them my life. Do you know? These were people, you know, that everyone else despises and spits on."

"And it was—it humbled me, in a way. It did something very strange for me. It opened me up—to whole areas of life, which—I would never have dared to deal with in America. Do you know?"

★ ★ ★
 WHAT PARIS OPENED UP TO HIM AND WHAT he dared to deal with is the material he ultimately worked into his three published novels:

"Go Tell It on the Mountain" (begun when he was 17, and completed a decade—or was it a lifetime?—later), "Giovanni's Room" (whose homosexual theme led timid New York publishers to shy off after issuing paternalistic warnings to Baldwin that they were rejecting the book for his own good, really, since publica-

tion would surely "wreck" his career) and the recent "Another Country" (a bestseller, acclaimed and damned in almost equal proportions).

Baldwin writes as he lives: hard. His labor/pains are always intense and prolonged. He tries to ease them by taking refuge, sometimes seriatim, in Istanbul, Corsica, Puerto Rico, Southern France, Switzerland, Fire Island, perhaps a friend's home in Connecticut or Westchester.

Yet, no matter how fast and how far he travels, he never escapes the pangs of creation.

There are always, as he confided not long ago in a letter, "the unforeseeable and demoralizing snags" that occur "when the writer, in working, disturbs one of his sleeping lions, the rage of which he's by no means prepared to face" or, to put it more simply, when the truth concerning one of his characters—or all of them—becomes crucially and unflatteringly involved with the truth about himself.

★ ★ ★
 THE PARIS IN WHICH HE MADE HIS DISCOM-
 forting discoveries was hardly the tourist Paris

Nor was it the artistic bohemia in which his gifted compatriots clustered. Plagued by hunger as well as sleeping lions, Baldwin shunned the company of his peers, convinced he would be patronized by colleagues possessed of influence, affluence or both.

In that hazardous period, he built solid relationships with James Jones, William Styron, Philip Roth ("I adore them") and, on a charged, on-again-off-again basis that is at once closer and more threatening, Norman Mailer. But the incestuous atmosphere of literary parties made Baldwin uneasy. And still does.

At 25, chronically skidding on the edge of starvation, he frequented a Left-Bank bar where he could scrounge sandwiches and beer. There he met one day a lean, quiet, dimpled youth with a Charles Boyer voice and a talent for painting, Lucien Happersberger, 17, who had just run away from his home in Lausanne.

The two formed an alliance ("partly because, I suppose, I had the habits of an older brother, really") that continues to this day. Happersberger, whose 11-year-old son is Baldwin's godchild, currently serves as the writer's secretary, buffer and companion. "That's my best friend," says Baldwin, smiling at him affectionately.

Distance has lent the usual nostalgic enchantment to their early adventures, but at the time they were reminiscent of Gorki rather than Saroyan. Baldwin remembers a rainy Thursday in Paris when he and Happersberger hadn't eaten for a couple of days.

"We lived in this terrible place on Rue Jacob, way

up on the top floor," Baldwin recalls, grinning. "Lucien and I went downstairs because we thought we could eat around the corner at this woman's restaurant. On credit. And it was closed." He begins to laugh. "And we had no cigarets. And no money. Nothing! And it really was like that."

"What did you do?" the reporter inquires.

The room resounds with Baldwin's laughter. "Why, we went back upstairs. It was raining." He rocks back and forth, helplessly, joyously, his huge eyes squeezed shut, laughing so hard that a tear courses down his cheek.

★ ★ ★

WHILE BALDWIN WAS GROWING THINNER AND shabbier on the streets of Paris—yes, and sometimes in its gutters—and learning to acknowledge his puritanical instincts and relishing his freedom and struggling with his autobiographical novel and selling an occasional essay, an editor back in New York buttonholed a psychologist-author.

"Kenneth," Elliot E. Cohen of Commentary magazine said to Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, "there is a young man in Paris by the name of Jim Baldwin. If we can keep him alive, he will emerge as one of the greatest writers America has produced."

"What's his name again?" Clark asked.

"James Baldwin," Cohen said. "Don't forget it."

★ ★ ★

IN 1932, FOUR YEARS AFTER HE HAD EXILED himself from his native land, Baldwin decided to visit the U.S. He was intent upon pushing the sale of "Go Tell It on the Mountain," but he had another—an unspoken, interior—motive. He wanted to test the interaction between his country and himself.

The young writer had just enough money to pay his hotel bill or his ship fare. Bailed out of Paris by Marlon Brando ("he's a beautiful car"), Baldwin arrived home stone-broke. His youngest brother, David, welcomed him at the pier with a \$10 loan. Armed with borrowed cash and a borrowed suit, Baldwin prowled around New York.

"It was a nightmare," he says, whispering each word. "I'd been away just long enough—to have lost all my old habits, all my old friends, all my old con-



With Shelley Winters at a literary symposium.

nections, you know. So I came back into a kind of limbo."

Knopf bought his book and Baldwin fled back to Paris. But the city of light had somehow dimmed in his absence. Paris had been his haven, his prop. Suddenly Baldwin required neither. He retired to a chalet belonging to Happersberger's family. There, in the Swiss Alps, he licked his wounds and brooded.

Baldwin had spent two weeks at the chalet the summer before but to these villagers who had never seen another black man, he remained an exotic rarity. They fingered his hair; they touched his cheek to determine whether the color rubbed off; they roused in him the rage of the "disesteemed"—and a new maturity. In Loches-Bains, Jimmy Baldwin finally came of age.

"No road whatever will lead Americans back to the simplicity of this European village where white men still have the luxury of looking on me as a stranger," he wrote in a brilliantly perceptive essay that defined the nature of America's conflict and his own. "I am not, really, a stranger any longer for any American alive. One of the things that distinguishes Americans from other people is that no other people has ever been so deeply involved in the lives of black men, or vice versa."

Once James Baldwin had written those lines, the days of his expatriation had to be numbered.

IN THE WEEKEND EDITION: James Baldwin in America.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

JAMES BALDWIN

A New York Post Portrait—By FERN MARJA ECKMAN

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Evans _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

ARTICLE VI

ON ONE OF THOSE dismal, wet days when all Paris is submerged in gray and the entire population appears to be in mourning, James Baldwin trudged into the American Express office, praying he would find there a check from New York that represented salvation.

For economy's sake, the young author was then living in the village of Gallardon, near Chartres, pooling his skimpy resources with a Frenchman who painted, a Norwegian girl who sculptured and a German-African woman who wanted to write. On this occasion, it was Baldwin's turn to try his luck at reviving the communal exchequer. He had set out by bus, but a strike had obliged him to proceed on foot from the gates of Paris.

His mission proved a grotesque failure. No money awaited him. But 10 spanking-fresh copies of his first published work, "Go Tell It on the Mountain," did. Magnificently burdened with these testimonials to his success, Baldwin sloshed through the streets in rain-logged sandals to a bar in St. Germain des Pres.

Stacking his books on a table, he sat down behind the impressive array, dripping water into miniature puddles, cadging beer and waiting hopefully all day—alas, in vain—for some generous soul who would at least lend him enough money to get back to the country. "I was," Baldwin said recently, "absolutely broke and starving."

Ten years later, in the summer of 1963, now a literary figure of distinction with an income that justified his sporadic taste for caviar and champagne, Baldwin was driving up Park Av. with his publisher, Richard Baron of Dial Press, and his agent, Robert E. Mills.

Baron stopped for a red light. A blond girl in the next car, catching sight of Baldwin, held up a copy of "Another Country," then just off the press, and called out in a thick, honey Southern accent, "My daddy says the language is terrible but I think the book is great!" It was a memorable encounter and Baldwin loved every fleeting second of it.

Between those two incidents, Jimmy Baldwin's life had undergone a sea of change. In 1957, propelled homeward by a realization that "whatever's happening in your country is happening to you" and a mounting aversion for the woe unto the U. S. lamentations of Paris' American contingent, Baldwin had returned "for good" to the land of his birth after more than eight years abroad.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

MAG 4 NEW YORK POST

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-17-89 BY SP8 BJA/kaf

Date: 1/19/64
 Edition: WEEKEND
 Author: FERN MARJA ECKMAN
 Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
 Title: JAMES BALDWIN

Character: MISC INFO CON
 or

Classification:
 Submitting Office: NYO

ENCLOSURE 62-111111-21

AND SO, LITERARY LION THOUGH HE IS, DIS-
crimination still stalks Baldwin. But he requires
no such stimulus to fire his rage. Jimmy Baldwin is a
small man containing a monumental anger. Some-
times he unleashes it at the well-intentioned as well
as at the sinners.

Last October, when he was the Board of Educa-
tion's guest speaker at PS 180 in Harlem, a white
teacher, shy and earnest, made the mistake of in-
quiring, "How would you define the role of the
white liberal?"

Baldwin stared at him in the modern idiom, and
certainly in Baldwin's, "liberal" is a term of oppro-
brium. "I don't really want to be abusive," the author
finally remarked icily. "But what I really want to say
is there is no role for the white liberal. He is really
one of our afflictions."

From the predominantly Negro audience, there was
a groundswell of laughter and applause. The teacher
who had put the question slumped in his seat, crimson
with embarrassment. Baldwin went in for the kill:

"The role of the white liberal in my light is the
role of the missionaries of 'I'm trying to help you,
you poor black thing, you.' The thing is—we're not
in trouble. You are."

"I'd like to suggest that white people turn this
around and ask what white people can do to help
themselves. No white liberal knows what Ray Charles
is singing about. So how can you help me? Work with
yourself!"

This hostility, intricately interwoven through the
labyrinthine Baldwin personality, reveals itself from
time to time, inflaming some of his listeners, alienating
others. But what Baldwin occasionally preaches is
flatly contradicted by what he practices. Outside his
family circle, he has only four real intimates; three
of them are white. Carried away by rhetoric, he is apt
to convey a distorted message.

Still, just the other day, expounding his theory
that a worldwide race war is "more than probable"
in our time, Baldwin in Cassandra mood, dolefully pre-
dicted:

"People will have to make alliances on that basis,
y'know. And someone like me, someone like Lucien
Happersberger, just entering the room, looked startled
will perish in the middle. Because," said James
Baldwin, the words surging up on a tide of passion,
"I can't make my alignments on the basis of color."

Last of Six Articles

"Notes of a Native Son," had been triumphantly received. But Baldwin could still, with a fair degree of accuracy, entitle his second volume, "Nobody Knows My Name." It was this book, with its wrenching report on the Southern condition, that riveted the attention of students in the South.

"This was the point," Baldwin said, "where I meant something in their lives. And they began to depend on me more. And it turned out that money could be raised on my name, y'know. And they needed money to pay all those terrible court costs. To get people out of jail, you know. And so I began donating my time to do that."

★ ★ ★

HE BEGAN THEN AND HE HAS YET TO STOP.

At any hour of any day, Jimmy Baldwin can be detected from the central and avowed purpose of his life, writing, by an urgent request for his presence at integration rallies, emergency meetings—even protest marches, although he detests the military ceremony that attends such demonstrations.

At the tag-end of 1962, The New Yorker published the essay that forms the major portion of "The Fire Next Time." Almost overnight, Baldwin's cherished privacy was invaded by the brouhaha of public acclaim. His professional timetable, chronically disorganized, collapsed.

The opening of his new play, "Blues for Mr. Charlie" (dedicated to the memory of his friend, Medgar Evers, the Mississippi field secretary for the NAACP who was murdered last June) has been indefinitely postponed, at least in part because Baldwin

repeatedly delayed completion of the script to fulfill civil rights engagements.

Baldwin, who believes his own death at the hands of white supremacists is far from unlikely, was overwhelmed by Evers' ambush slaying. But neither that event, nor the tragic assassination of President Kennedy, ever for a moment shook his conviction that the force and dimension of the desegregation struggle must be inexorably expanded.

So total is Baldwin's commitment that his family (with the notable exception of his youngest brother, David, "my ally") and several of his associates periodically remind the essayist, novelist and playwright that his most effective battlepost is the typewriter, not the platform.

These confrontations are wearing for Baldwin, whose devotion to his mother and his eight brothers and sisters—emotional and financial—is unstinting.

"I've had this argument with them many, many times," Baldwin said recently. "And they're perfectly right so far as it goes. What they overlook is that it was exactly because I kept writing that all this happened."

"David and I had a tremendous fight with my sister Gloria, in a taxi, when she was saying what my mother said, you know: 'I don't want Jimmy in politics.' And David said, you know, 'Then you don't want Jimmy in the world.'"

In Baldwin's view, he is participating in a global "convulsion of nature" rather than a national movement. "I think of it as a revolution," he said, the tinkle of ice in his glass stilled for the moment.

"And I don't see any way of—of escaping your role, if you have one, in a revolution, y'know. It's up to you somehow to figure out how to do two things at once. It's—just—kind of difficult."

On a personal level, he is willing to settle for a compromise arrangement. He plans to buy a three-story house in New York (in which his mother will occupy one floor, his secretary—with his wife and two sons—the second, himself the third) and an apartment in Paris (anticipated cost: \$25,000).

Then, continuing his transatlantic commuting, he could work six or seven months in France and spend the rest of the year here, "being a public figure."

Meanwhile, as "a holding operation," Baldwin moved just a few days ago from a friend's house on East Third Street to a spacious, seven-room, four-telephone establishment in a still-fashionable (for the next five minutes?) building on West End Avenue.

Renting suitable quarters was frustrating, even for such a celebrity as Baldwin. Vacancies were mysteriously filled as soon as landlords discovered the applicant was a Negro. On one occasion, Baldwin's Swiss secretary, Lucien Happersberger, was blandly informed "bachelors" were regarded as undesirable tenants.

"I wasn't in the least prepared to come back here," Baldwin observed the other day. "But, on the other hand, I—I was out of kilter in Paris, too, because I couldn't get along with the bulk of the American colony—especially the American Negro colony who, so far as I could see, spent most of their time, you know, sitting in bars and cafes, talking about how awful America was. And I didn't cross the ocean to do that, you know."

"And I wasn't prepared either to be used by the French—or any other European—as a stick to beat the U. S. over the head with. For, after all, it was my country. And France was really no better—you know, no country is. And for the French to complain, y'know—to be indignant about the way America's treated Negroes—seemed to me absolutely, you know, hypocritical—since I knew the way they treated their own black people."

★ ★ ★

LIKE A DEEP-SEA DIVER TRYING TO PREVENT the bends, Baldwin cautiously edged himself back into the U. S., spending nine sample months here in 1954.

Even so, the transition was jolting. It was hard for him to adjust to a system he was "determined not to adjust to." For a couple of months, he languished in a hotel room, moping, drinking too much, wondering what to do next.

"The thing to do, y'know, if you're really terribly occupied with—with yourself," he explained not long ago, "the thing to do is to, at any price whatever, get in touch with something which is more than you. Throw yourself into a situation where you won't have time to weep. So I went South. Because I was afraid to go South."

Baldwin was—and still is—"scared to death" in the Deep South. His terror springs from his unfamiliarity with the intricate code of behavior indulged in by both races there, a "weird kind of etiquette" that cannot be acquired "surfacewise."

Deliberately exposing himself to Southern segregation patterns, Baldwin crossed the Mason-Dixon line for the first time on an assignment from Look

magazine. The experience was painful but unexpectedly "beautiful." He found himself exhilarated and stirred by the day-to-day heroism of Negro civil rights crusaders.

"I suppose the depth of my involvement began then," he reflected. "Because I—was forced to understand—that people talked to me as though I were a messenger. To get—to get the message out."

On that initial journey, so long dreaded, so long fantasied, the forerunner of scores of others, each equally terrifying, Baldwin decided that the artist's role is to bear witness to what life is and what life does. "To speak for people who cannot speak—you are simply a kind of conduit."

The bitter grace of his first collection of essays,



Baldwin and Charlton Heston arrive for last August's Washington March.

SAC, New York

January 29, 1964

Director, FBI (62-108763)

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 - Mr. Haack
1 - Mr. Jones

The Bureau has received a copy of part five and part six of an article concerning captioned subject which appeared in the "New York Post" issues of 1/17/64 and 1/19/64, respectively. These articles indicate they are part of a six-part article which the "Post" was printing. In the event you did not forward the first four parts of this article to the Bureau, immediately obtain and forward same.

REC'D
WITH
SER. 22

NOTE:

Subject's name included in Security Index. He is a Negro author who became increasingly active in the civil rights movement and has had affiliations with several communist front groups.

WPJ:mlf
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-89 BY SP8 BTJ/af

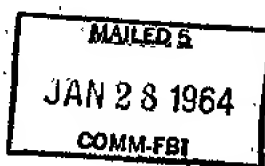
EX-102

ENCLOSURE

REC-38

62-108763-20

JAN 29 1964



Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAR. ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-108763)

DATE: 2/4/64

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43011) (P)

SUBJECT: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
SM - C
(OO:NY)

Rerep JAMES D. BRODY at New York 12/11/63 with lead for WFO to check passport record of subject; Bulet 12/18/63.

On 1/2/64 [redacted] Agency Liaison Officer, Passport Office, U. S. Department of State, advised IC [redacted] no identifiable record was located concerning subject.

b6
b7c

A recheck of passport office records was requested, pointing out subject known to have resided in Paris, France.

Passport record not located as of 1/29/64.
WFO following.

- ② - Bureau
- 2 - New York (100-146553) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

LEW/acp
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-89 BY SP8BJJ/agp

REC-139

62-108763-21

8 FEB 5 1964

SUBV. CONTROL

72 FEB 7 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-108763)

DATE: 2/12/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146553)

SUBJECT: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
SM - C

ReBulet to NY, 1/29/64.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are one (1) Photostat each of Xerox copies of parts 1, 2, 3, and 4 of a six-part article concerning subject which appeared in the "New York Post."

A review of NYO file indicates that these parts were apparently previously furnished to the Bureau.

However, in compliance with Bureau request of referenced letter, four (4) Photostats of the article are herewith enclosed.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-79 BY 60261 Jp

2 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
1 - New York

JDB:mas
(3)

ENCLOSURE

DETACHED AND FILED
IN SER. 20

REC-33

62-108763-222

FEB 14 1964

EX-102

FEB 18 2 11 PM '64

SUBV. CONTROL

DON INLET DIA
REC.D

57 FEB 24 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-108763)

DATE: 2/19/64

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-43011) (RUC)

SUBJECT: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
SM- C
OO: NY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/17/89 BY 00257J/p

Rerep of JAMES D. BRADY at New York 12/11/63 with lead for WFO to review passport record; Bulet 12/18/63 instructing WFO to review files concerning subject's appearances in Washington, D.C.

On 2/7/64, SA [redacted] reviewed available information concerning subject at Department of State Passport Office. This consisted of an application for renewal of passport 2365937 issued to JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN 8/4/60.

b6
b7C

Application for renewal dated 7/29/63 at New York, New York, contains following information furnished by subject:

Date and place of birth:	8/2/24, New York, New York
Permanent residence:	306 West 18, New York, New York
Mail address:	Lubell, Lubell and Jones, Attorneys 165 Broadway, New York, New York New York, New York
Port of Departure:	New York, New York
Approximate departure date:	8/7/63
Mode of travel:	Air France
Intended stay abroad:	Four weeks
Proposed itinerary:-	France
Purpose of trip	Pleasure
Person to be notified in case of death or accident:	[redacted]

b6
b7C

Number of trips abroad withing last twelve months:

Two

No information concerning marital status, description, or photograph of subject appears on renewal application.

REC-5 62-108763-23

2- Bureau

2- New York (100-146553) (RM)

1- WFO

NEW:pkg

(5)

FEB 20 1964

DOH INLET CIA
REC.D

SUBV. CONTROL

58 FEB 28 1964

WFO 100-43011

(A) handwritten notation on application indicates renewal was approved; therefore, passport 2635937 appears to have been renewed to be valid until 8/3/65.

Attached to renewal application was a letter to the Passport Office dated 7/19/63 from Lubell, Lubell, and Jones, Attorneys at Law, 165 Broadway, New York, New York, which advised they are attorneys for BALDWIN in matters arising out of or relating to the creation, proprietorship, sale, license or other distribution of his literary properties.

This letter stated BALDWIN, on 6/25/63, received a cablegrammed invitation to visit Cuba in connection with the 10th anniversary of the "26th of July Movement", and, as a result of this invitation, the "New Yorker" magazine requested BALDWIN to undertake a specific writing assignment in connection with such a trip to Cuba.

The letter advises they have informed BALDWIN travel to Cuba without a specially validated passport is a violation of present laws.

The letter stated BALDWIN has a passport, and he has informed them he has had one for several years. The letter requested that BALDWIN be issued a special permit for travel to Cuba.

Also attached to the renewal application was a Passport Office memorandum dated 8/1/63 advising that CLARENCE B. JONES of the law firm of Lubell, Lubell and Jones had informed that BALDWIN was not going to Cuba at that time but was going to France, and if he decided to go to Cuba at a later date, he would reapply for validation of his passport for such travel.

[redacted] Agency Liaison Officer, Passport Office, advised numerous special searches have been made by the Passport Office, but they have been unable to locate the remainder of the Passport Office file on the subject.

b6
b7c

Review of WFO files and pertinent issues of "The Evening Star" and the "Washington Post and Times Herald" newspapers disclosed BALDWIN was a speaker at a "Peace Rally" at Judiciary Square in Washington, D.C., on 4/1/61. No specific statements made by BALDWIN were recorded in above-mentioned newspapers or furnished by WFO informants.

STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO BALDWIN

On 6/11/61, WF T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that JAMES BALDWIN spoke at a mass rally for "Original Freedom Riders" on the evening of 6/11/61 at All Souls Unitarian Church, 16th and Harvard Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Washington Chapter, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

The informant stated BALDWIN told those present that the West had better re-evaluate its international policy in light of the potential strength of the new Afro-Asian countries. BALDWIN added that the white man had better realize the emerging strength of the Negro. He stated that he did not want to be in the shoes of the white man when the African nations become stronger.

(Documentation- [redacted] to SA ELMER E. TODD 6/11/61. b7D

The June 12, 1963, edition of "The Evening Star", a Washington, D.C., daily newspaper, carried an article captioned "Business Hit as Failing to Aid Freedom Riders" concerning a rally of the Congress of Racial Equality at the All Souls Unitarian Church in Washington, D.C., on the evening of 6/11/63, at which JAMES BALDWIN was a speaker. The article states: "JAMES BALDWIN, author of 'Negroes in our Society' and other books, said the Freedom Riders are trying to complete something long overdue--the American Revolution."

The June 12, 1963, edition of the "Washington Post and Times Herald", a daily newspaper published in Washington, D.C., carried an article captioned "Freedom Riders Acclaimed in Talks to Mixed Audience in D.C. Church" concerning the meeting at the All Souls Unitarian Church on the evening of 6/11/63. The article states: "The author JAMES BALDWIN declared at the mass rally for Original Freedom Riders, 'What we are here to accomplish is the American Revolution'.... 'The question that must be decided is: Am I man or am I not? And if I am not, then white man, what are you.'"

The November 5, 1963, issue of "The Evening Star" newspaper carried an article captioned "Farmer Cites Problem of Staying Nonviolent" concerning a conference on "youth, nonviolence and social change" held at Howard University, Washington, D.C., at which JAMES FARMER, National Director of CORE, and BALDWIN were speakers. This article states:

"Author JAMES BALDWIN said he wondered how long civil rights advocates will endure various indignities before they begin to fight back." The article quoted BALDWIN as saying, "But in this terrible confrontation I see some opportunity which will liberate this country and change the world. The very gravity and danger of the situation can be turned into a tremendous opportunity. We will have to learn to live together here or not at all." The article continues, "BALDWIN scolded a Federal Government which can protect Viet-Nam and invade Cuba but does nothing to protect the Negro in the South." The article also states BALDWIN then suggested that mass strikes or acts of civil disobedience would force the Government to deal with Negroes as individuals.

"The Evening Star" newspaper edition of 11/6/63 carried an article captioned "Negro Authors Stress Truth and Survival" concerning a symposium on the "Negro Writer in American Society" held at Howard University on the evening of 11/5/63, at which BALDWIN remarked, "My problem is to tell the truth and survive society while doing it." The article states BALDWIN continued that the role of the writer is to excavate the real history of the country. BALDWIN described the American mind as one of "fantastic confusion". He said Americans want to believe things which are really not true. The article quoted BALDWIN as saying, "White Americans think this is a beautiful and wonderful country....and this is not true. The Negro is the only person who can unearth the truth about this country."

Congress of Racial Equality

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper *DC* edition of 11/6/63 carried an article captioned "Negro Leaders Exhort Followers Not to Stray From Nonviolent Path." This article states in part that JAMES L. FARMER, National Director of CORE, agreed with another analyst, JAMES BALDWIN, Negro author, who indicated the breaking point of Negroes in the civil rights struggle may be near. This article continues, "BALDWIN said Negroes may have to think of civil disobedience as a next tactic...." BALDWIN said, "I don't want to see Negroes adapt themselves to the American way of life....I don't think any Negro in this country, whether a drunk or what have you, has to prove anything to the white man."

JAMES L. FARMER

The above newspaper articles were reviewed on 1/8/64 at the Library of Congress by SA

b6
b7C

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-17-81 BY 2032151

Baldwin Writes Of Negro Plight

MOSCOW, March 4
 (UPI)—American Negro
 novelist James Baldwin
 told Russian newspaper
 readers today that only
 "the most radical and far-
 reaching changes in Amer-
 ican society" can improve
 the Negro's condition.

Writing in Izvestia, Bald-
 win said "it is absolutely
 clear that white Americans
 simply do not want to
 bring these changes into
 existence."

He said the majority
 of Americans are not
 ready to grant Negroes
 their "Freedom" with the
 result that "there are no
 words to describe the full
 horror of the life of
 American Negroes."

*W. P. [unclear]
 [unclear]
 G. [unclear]
 P. [unclear]
 File 5 CDB*

The Washington Post and Times Herald 3/5/64
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star _____
 New York Herald Tribune _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Mirror _____
 New York Daily News _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times _____
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 People's World _____
 Date _____

1-108763-A
 NOT RECORDED
 128 MAR 11 1964

64 MAR 10 1964

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 3/26/64	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 12/18/63 - 3/12/64
TITLE OF CASE JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN		REPORT MADE BY JAMES D. BRODY	TYPED BY 11
		CHARACTER OF CASE SM - C	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA JAMES D. BRODY, dated
12/11/63, at NY.

Classified by ~~SP3 STJ/98~~
Declassify on: OADR ~~1-17-89~~

DECLASSIFIED BY AUC94255 SAH/84
ON 2/18/99
CA97-5249

ADMINISTRATIVE:

The sources used in the characterization of
the Monroe Committee in the order used are

[Redacted]

Photo S TRU

CC TO: Labar
REQ. REC'D 7-22-64
JUL 29 1968
ANS.
BY: B.V.H. de

Copy to cia
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 12-27-66
by Tgm/ea

PROVED PIES MADE:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE <u>J. J. [Signature]</u>	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
4-Bureau (52-106763) (RM) 1-New York (100-146553)		62-108743-25	REC'D
Classified by <u>6970 EEP/08</u> Declassify on: OADR <u>2-20-90</u> <u>29-30/6 JHP</u>		EX-103	
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		Potentially [Signature]	
RECD.	<u>KAD</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>USIA</u>
WD.	<u>4/1/64</u>	<u>4/1/64</u>	<u>4/1/64</u>
WD.	<u>P-6</u>	<u>6-14-64</u>	<u>4-14</u>
TDA/CO		[Signature]	

59 APR 9 1964

NY 100-146553

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INFORMANTS:

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>File Number Where Located</u>
NY T-1 ✓ NY 4171-S* (X) u	Instant report
NY T-2 [redacted] (X) u	Characterization of HUNTER PITTS O'DELL
NY T-3 [redacted] (X) u	100-146353-111
NY T-4 [redacted] (X) u	[redacted] (X) u
NY T-5 [redacted] (X) u	Characterization of Freedomways Forum Characterization of [redacted] [redacted]
NY T-6 [redacted]	
NY T-7 [redacted] (X) u [redacted] (X) u	[redacted] (X) u
NY T-8 [redacted] (X) u	[redacted] (X) u

b6
b7C
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-146553

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
6. ☒ This report is classified SECRET because (state reason) _____ it contains information furnished by _____ a highly sensitive source, regarding the association of HUNTER PITTS O'DELL with JAMES BALDWIN, well known Negro author. *(e)* *AKU*

b7D

7. ☒ Subject previously interviewed (dates) Never.
- ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) _____

of his position as a prominent Negro author and his personal involvement in the current civil rights struggle by the Negroes in the US indicates that an attempt to interview him could prove highly embarrassing to the Bureau.

8. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
9. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) _____

subject's outspoken stand in the civil rights issue, his current prominence as an author, and the inflammatory nature of his writings, show him to be a dangerous individual who could be expected to commit acts inimical to the national defense and public safety of the US in time of emergency.

10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.
- ☒ Subject's activities ☐ do ☒ do not warrant Detcom tabbing.

- C* -
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE~~

Copy for:

Report of:
Date:JAMES D. BRODY
3/26/64

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File No.:

100-146553

Bureau File No.: 62-108763

Title:

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

DECLASSIFIED BY AUC 94255 SAH/2
ON 2/18/99

Character:

SECURITY MATTER - C

Classified by 0021513/08Declassify on: OADP 5/17-89

Synopsis:

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN, Negro author, residing Apartment 6A, 470 West End Avenue, NYC, as of March, 1964. Sources advised: In January, 1964, subject in contact with HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, who as of July, 1962, was considered member of National Committee, CP, USA; subject's endorsement used in subscription campaign by "Freedomways" magazine February, 1964; subject in January, 1964, invited to participate in Freedomways Forum. In September and October, 1961, "National Guardian" listed subject as sponsor of Monroe Defense Committee. In July, 1963, subject, through attorneys, requested State Department for special permit for travel to Cuba in connection with possible writing assignment for "New Yorker" magazine. Various statements attributed to subject set forth. At ECLC dinner in NYC in December, 1963, subject stated not interested in Mr. J. EDGAR HOOVER's recommendation that Negro not fight established institutions in quest for equality stating established institutions have not aided Negro. Subject's name appeared on leaflet calling for support of demonstration against President JOHN F. KENNEDY outside the Park Sheraton Hotel, Washington, D. C., January, 1963. Descriptive information from passport records set forth.

Classified 16922 kEP/08
 Declassify on: OADP
2-28-90
89/30143HP

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 Exclude from automatic
 downgrading and
 declassification

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DETAILS:

I. RESIDENCE

On January 2, 1964, NY T-1 advised that JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN, Negro author, was then residing in Apartment 6, 40 West End Avenue, New York City.

On March 3, 1964, NY T-1 stated subject was then residing at 470 West End Avenue, New York City, Apartment 6A, telephone number 877-7773.

II. ASSOCIATION WITH COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) MEMBERS

On January 2, 1964, NY T-1 advised that on that date HUNTER PITTS O'DELL was in contact with JAMES BALDWIN and had made arrangements to meet with BALDWIN at BALDWIN's apartment on January 3, 1964. (X)u

NY T-2 has advised that as of July, 1962, HUNTER PITTS O'DELL was considered by the CP, USA as being a member of its National Committee.

III. AFFILIATION WITH SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

Freedomways Associates

On February 9, 1964, NY T-3 furnished information that Freedomways Associates was preparing a mailing of a printed letter from JAMES BALDWIN praising "Freedomways" magazine for its articles on the civil rights crisis and stating that he, BALDWIN, was renewing his subscription for two years. This letter, which is addressed "Dear Friend", sets forth the printed signature of JAMES BALDWIN and asks the recipient to join him in subscribing to "Freedomways" at once. (X)u

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A characterization of Freedomways Associates appears in the Appendix Section of this report.

Freedomways Forum (X)(U)

On December 27, 1963, NY T-4 made available information that on December 23, 1963, [redacted] a member of the 11th Assembly District Club, Harlem Region of the CP, New York, stated that a special meeting was to be called on January 19, 1964, to formulate plans for a Freedomways Forum, to be staged in Harlem. (X)(U)

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According to the source, JAMES BALDWIN, Negro author, has been invited to participate in this forum and has tentatively accepted. (X)(U)

On January 6, 1964, NY T-4 advised that JAMES BALDWIN was scheduled to participate in a Freedomways Forum at the Powell Center, 137th Street near 7th Avenue, New York City, but no date was specified. (X)(U)

NY T-5 advised on January 20, 1964, that a meeting of a new organization known officially as the Harlem Freedomways Forum was held on January 19, 1964.

The source stated that the idea for this organization came from [redacted] and that the idea was approved by the Harlem CP about two years ago. The source stated this organization is being formed with the knowledge and approval of the New York State CP officials and that WILLIAM ALBERTSON, an official of the New York State CP, has had conversations with [redacted] concerning the formation of this forum. (X)(U)

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NY T-5 further advised that at a meeting of the 11th Assembly District Club of the CP on January 17, 1964, the members were urged to attend the meeting of the Harlem Freedomways Forum on January 19, 1964. The club members were told that the organization was to be, on the surface, a community group and that, therefore, the comrades should be careful not to get up and espouse CP ideology. The club members were told that the CP would use the Forum as a recruiting ground for new CP members. (S)(u)

On December 9, 1963, NY T-5 advised that [redacted] mentioned above, was then a member of the 11th Assembly District CP Club.

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Monroe Defense Committee (MDC)

Page 5 of the September 25, 1961 and Page 6 of the October 2, 1961, issues of the "National Guardian" carried lists of sponsors of the MDC. Both lists included the name JAMES BALDWIN.

Characterizations of the "National Guardian" and the MDC are contained in the Appendix Section of this report.

IV. SUBJECT'S CONTEMPLATED
TRAVEL TO CUBA

On February 7, 1964, the records at the Department of State, Passport Office, Washington, D. C. were reviewed by SA [redacted] and reflected

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that JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN on July 25, 1963, submitted an application for renewal of passport number 2365937, which had been issued to him on August 4, 1960. This application indicated that on June 25, 1963, BALDWIN had received a cablegram invitation to visit Cuba in connection with the 10th anniversary of the "26th of July Movement", and as a result of this invitation, the "New Yorker" magazine had requested BALDWIN to undertake a specific writing assignment in connection with such a trip to Cuba. Attached to BALDWIN's renewal application was a letter to the Passport Office, dated July 19, 1963, from Lubell, Lubell and Jones, Attorneys-at-Law, 165 Broadway, New York, New York, which advised they were attorneys for BALDWIN and which requested that BALDWIN be issued a special permit for travel to Cuba.

Also attached to the renewal application was a Passport Office memorandum, dated August 1, 1963, indicating that CLARENCE B. JONES of the law firm of Lubell, Lubell and Jones, had informed that BALDWIN was not going to Cuba at that time but was going to France. The memorandum further indicated that if BALDWIN decided to go to Cuba at a later date he would reapply for validation of his passport for such travel.

A characterization of the July 26th Movement is contained in the Appendix Section of this report.

V. STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED
TO BALDWIN

Beginning with its issue of January 13, 1964, and ending with its issue of January 19, 1964, the "New York Post", a New York daily newspaper, carried a six part series of articles on JAMES BALDWIN.

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In part, these articles contain the following quotes of BALDWIN:

"I do not hate white people. I can't afford to. Just because I want to live. And I haven't got enough emotional energy. There's some people - but some of them are black".

"I was born in Harlem, I was raised in Harlem and, indeed, as long as I live, I'll never be able to leave Harlem".

On December 12, 1963, NY T-6 advised that the subject was the last speaker at the 10th Annual Bill of Rights Dinner, held December 13, 1963, at the Americana Hotel, New York City, under the sponsorship of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC).

A characterization of the ECLC is contained in the Appendix Section of this report.

In his speech, BALDWIN stated he was not very interested in the recommendation of Mr. J. EDGAR HOOVER that the Negro in his quest for equality should not fight established institutions. BALDWIN contended that these established institutions have offered the Negro no real help and have, in fact, tended to maintain the Negro's lowly state.

BALDWIN further stated that the ban on travel to Cuba was incomprehensible to him since he, as a Negro, was better off vacationing in Havana than in Miami Beach no matter what type of system was in effect in Cuba. He advocated unlimited issuance of passports to everyone to go anywhere.

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BALDWIN stated he and many other Negro leaders were well aware that the Communists offered no solution to the Negro problem and that this was quite obvious since they, the Communists, promised much but all Negroes knew that it was impossible to fulfill these promises.

On October 16, 1963, NY T-7 advised that in his speech at the ECLC Dinner at the Hotel Americana, New York City, on December 13, 1963, BALDWIN stated "I have never been afraid of Russia, China or Cuba, but I am terrified of this country". He went on to state that "poorly allows thousands of people, not only Negro but also white, in the South to perish. He said the white person in the South does these things because he was told to do so generations ago and could never allow himself to fall below the level of the Negro."

"The Evening Star", a Washington, D. C. daily newspaper, in its edition of November 6, 1963, carried an article captioned "Negro Authors Stress Truth and Survival" concerning a symposium on the "Negro Writer in American Society", which was held at Howard University on the evening of November 5, 1963. At this symposium, BALDWIN remarked, "My problem is to tell the truth and survive society while doing it". The article states BALDWIN continued that the role of the writer is to excavate the real history of the country. BALDWIN described the American mind as one of "fantastic confusion". He said Americans want to believe things which are not really true. The article quoted BALDWIN as saying "White Americans think this is a beautiful and wonderful country... and this is not true. The Negro is the only person who can unearth the truth about this country".

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The June 12, 1963 edition of the "Washington Post and Times Herald", a daily newspaper published in Washington, D. C., carried an article captioned "Freedom Riders Acclaimed in Talks to Pired Audience in D. C. Church". This article concerned a meeting at the All Souls Unitarian Church on the evening of June 11, 1963, and states, "The author JAMES BALDWIN declared at the mass rally for Original Freedom Riders, 'What we are here to accomplish is the American Revolution'... 'The question that must be decided is: Am I a man or am I not? And if I am not, then white men, what are you?'".

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

On January 29, 1963, NY T-8 made available a leaflet which stated that on January 31, 1963, the "Anti-Defamation League, defense arm of the Jewish Community, is conferring its 'democratic legacy' award on President KENNEDY, despite his record on civil rights, at a \$100-a-plate banquet."

The leaflet called on the reader to demonstrate on January 31, 1963, outside the Park Sheraton Hotel, Washington, D. C., where the aforementioned dinner was scheduled. This demonstration was to protest in behalf of "WILLIAM WORTHY, Boston-born correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American (the largest Negro weekly) (who) is appealing a three-month federal sentence. He is the first and only American ever prosecuted for the 'crime' of returning to his native land 'without a passport'".

Among individuals signing this appeal to support this demonstration was JAMES BALDWIN.

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WILLIAM WORTHY, JR. was convicted in the United States District Court, Southern District of Florida, Miami, Florida, on August 8, 1962, for violation of Section 1185B, Title 8, United States Code, in that he entered the United States in October, 1961, from Cuba without a valid passport.

On September 7, 1962, WORTHY was sentenced to one year in the custody of the Attorney General, three months committed, nine months probation. WORTHY has appealed the conviction to the 5th Circuit/8th Appeals, New Orleans, Louisiana.

VII. DESCRIPTION

The following descriptive information concerning JAMES BALDWIN was located in his passport records, which was reviewed on February 7, 1964:

Date and Place of Birth	August 2, 1924, New York, New York
Residence	306 West 18, New York, New York (July, 1963)
Passport Number	2365937

Person to be notified in case of death or accident



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APPENDIX

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FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1963, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

On May 25, 1961, another source advised that "Freedomways" was set up for the CPUSA by James Jackson, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

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APPENDIX

JULY 26 MOVEMENT

The July 26 Movement was the revolutionary organization founded and led by FIDEL CASTRO, current Prime Minister of Cuba. It was dissolved during 1962 when it was absorbed into the Integrated Revolutionary Organization in Cuba, along with the Communist Party of Cuba, and the other principal political parties.

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APPENDIX

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"National Guardian

- "1. 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly * * *. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)"

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APPENDIX

1.

MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

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A source advised on February 16, 1962, that [redacted] member of the Workers World Party (WWP) from New York, was sent to Cleveland, Ohio in October, 1961, by the Monroe Defense Committee (MDC) of New York to organize an MDC in Cleveland. As that [redacted] with the aid of [redacted] members of the WWP, and WILLIE MAE MALLORY, organized an MDC in Cleveland with headquarters at 1239 East 115th Street.

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On May 29, 1963, the source related that the purpose of the MDC in Cleveland is to aid in the support of WILLIE MAE MALLORY in her fight against extradition to Monroe, North Carolina.

On August 31, 1961, two true bills of indictment were returned against WILLIE MAE MALLORY by a Grand Jury in Superior Court, Union County, Monroe, North Carolina, charging MALLORY with two counts of [redacted] on August 27, 1961.

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A second source on May 26, 1963, related that the headquarters of the MDC in Cleveland is located at 10917 Superior Avenue, with CLARENCE SENIORS as Chairman.

A third source in November, 1962, related that CLARENCE SENIORS was then a member of the WWP.

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APPENDIX

WORKERS WORLD PARTY

On April 17, 1959, a confidential source advised that on February 12, 1959, a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) minority group, under the leadership of National Committee member, SAM BALLAN, split from the SWP.

The source stated that this minority group, referred to as the Marcyites, after many years of program and policy differences on varied issues concerning tactics and interpretation of political events, split from the SWP on the grounds that the Party was liquidating itself by departing from the Marxist precepts of LEON TROTSKY and retreating from the fight for the world socialist revolution. The final issue which ultimately forced the split was the minority's opposition to the SWP regroupment policy which involved cooperation with the Communist Party (CP) periphery - individuals characterized by the minority as petty - bourgeois.

The minority program, according to the source, advocates unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and has as its goal the building of a revolutionary party with a complete proletarian orientation for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism in the United States and throughout the world.

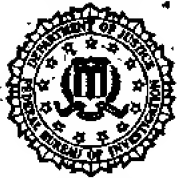
On May 12, 1960, the source advised that this minority group had chosen the name Workers World Party.

On May 6, 1963, a second confidential source stated that the headquarters of the Workers World Party were located at 46 West 21st Street, New York, New York.

The SWP and the CP have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

March 26, 1964

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title James Arthur Baldwin

Character Security Matter - C

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent James D. Brody, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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James Arthur Baldwin	
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ALSO KNOWN AS:	SUMMARY (Correlation)
BIRTHDATE: 8-2-24	
BIRTHPLACE: NYC (not verified)	
SPOUSE:	
RACE: Negro	62-108763-26
LOCALITY: France: dc:ny:calif:mass:	
REMARKS: ill: ala: fla:	

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James Baldwin

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157-6-61-420

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(Clariton-H-25.3)
(11/11/1963)

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MF 13 p 19

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BALDWIN, JAMES ARTHUR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MF 62-108763

MF ^{do not destroy} 62-108763-3 Summary

✓ I ^{do not destroy} 157-6-34-78 Summary

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✓ I 157-6-69

BALDWIN, Jim

ANAL.

~~100-441190~~ cons into
62. 108763

MF

NR 100-3-23-1159

NR 100-16-38-53, P. 1

NI 100-16-32-198, P. 4

~~DESTROY~~

✓ I 157-6-26-86

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BALDWIN, Jimmy

ANAL.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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MF 62-108763

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✓ I 100-24425-27

BALDWIN, J.

ANAL.

NR 100-340474-7

NR 100-363233-3

NR

-4

ALL OTHER BD OF BALDWIN SEARCHED = NR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INSTRUCTIONS: This form is to be removed from file by a Filing Unit employee only upon the return of the item.

Subject <u>James Baldwin</u>		
Type of Mail	Date of Mail	
<input type="checkbox"/> Report		
<input type="checkbox"/> Incoming letter		
<input type="checkbox"/> Outgoing letter		
<input type="checkbox"/> Memorandum		
<input type="checkbox"/> Airtel		
<input type="checkbox"/> Teletype		
<input type="checkbox"/> Enclosure (describe)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Laboratory Work Sheet		
<input type="checkbox"/> Personnel Security Questionnaire (PSQ)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Loyalty Form		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other (describe)	<u>Washington Report 6/30/64</u>	
<u>Not recorded Sub A.</u>		
Removed for	Removed by	Date of Removal
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. <input type="checkbox"/> Mrs. <input type="checkbox"/> Miss <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Room	<u>NARA</u>	<u>8/26/92</u>
Reason for Removal		
<input type="checkbox"/> For copying (If for another agency, list agency and date of request.)		
<input type="checkbox"/> To send to		
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<input type="checkbox"/> For change to another file		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify) <u>DOCUMENT TRANSFERRED TO NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION</u>		
<u>PER COURT ORDER ISSUED BY USDC JUDGE A. WALLACE TASHIMA ON AUGUST 24, 1987.</u>		
Complete File and Serial Number <u>62-108763-A</u>		

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5/25/64

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AIRTEL

DECLASSIFIED BY AUC94255 S4H/R
ON 2/18/99

CA 97-5269

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-358916)

FROM: SAC NEW YORK (100-91330)

SUBJECT: HUNTER PITTS O'DELL
IS-C

(OO: NY)

Classified by 6972 ECP/2P
Declassify on: OADR
2-20-90
89-4016 JHP

There are enclosed 6 copies of a LHM showing that HUNTER PITTS O'DELL has been closely associated with JAMES BALDWIN, the Negro author, in the presentation of BALDWIN's play "Blues For Mr. Charlie" which is currently appearing on Broadway in NYC. The source of this information is NY 4171-S* and the source used to characterize O'DELL is [redacted]

The Special Agents who observed O'DELL and BALDWIN entering the Squibb Building 745 5th Avenue on 5/22/64, were [redacted] Shortly before O'DELL and BALDWIN entered the building, BURGESS MERIDITH, the Director of "Blues For Mister Charlie", entered this building. It is believed that a meeting was held in the offices of the Actors Studio to decide the future of BALDWIN's play. [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

The LHM is classified "Confidential" because it contains information from the above sources, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in the loss of sources of great value and seriously impair the defense interests of the US.

The log reflecting the surveillance of O'DELL and BALDWIN is filed in NY file 100-91330-Sub A.

4-Bureau (Encls. 6)(RM)
(100-108763)(JAMES BALDWIN)
1-New York (100-146553)(JAMES BALDWIN)(45) 57
1-New York
JFO:rdv

62-108763
NOT RECORDED

Classified by SP2 JPA/2P
Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-358916-287



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
May 25, 1964

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bureau 100-358916
New York 100-91330

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DECLASSIFIED BY AUC94255 SAH/8 Hunter Pitts O'Dell

ON 2/11/99

CA97-5269

A confidential source advised on May 21, 1964, that on that date, Hunter Pitts O'Dell was in contact with an individual who was unknown to the source. They discussed the matter of keeping the play by James Baldwin ("Blues For Mister Charlie") going and O'Dell was told that Baldwin has given up royalty claims to the play and that there was going to be a meeting about the play on Friday, May 22, 1964. O'Dell stated that he would be there. *QU*

A second confidential source advised in July, 1962, that, as of that time, Hunter Pitts O'Dell was considered by the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), as being a member of its National Committee.

The first confidential source advised on May 22, 1964, that, on that date, O'Dell and James Baldwin agreed to meet at the Actors Studio on the 17th floor of the Squibb Building at 3:30 PM. It was stated that Baldwin's lawyer would be there at 5:00 PM. *QU*

On May 22, 1964, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), observed Hunter Pitts O'Dell enter the lobby of the Squibb Building, 745 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and proceed to the elevator banks to the upper floors. Shortly thereafter, James Baldwin, the well-known Negro author, was observed entering this building and boarded an elevator to the upper floors.

It was noted that the directory of the Squibb Building lists office space for the Actors Studio, producer of Baldwin's play, on the 17th floor of this building.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by *SP-2015/ab*

Declassify on: *5-17-80*

Classified by *6972CEP/ab*

Declassify on: OADR

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ISSUED BY *W. J. Marshall*

AGENCY *NY-OST-6-2*

REF. REC'D *5-26-64*

FOR INFO. *5-26-64*

FOR INFO. *5-26-64*

Verf. inc. retained 810 R-3

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Hunter Pitts O'Dell

"The New York Times", Monday, May 25, 1964, in its theatre section, page 43, contains an advertisement stating that James Baldwin's "Blues For Mister Charlie" will be forced to close on May 30, 1964, "unless there is an immediate public response."

The first confidential source has furnished information, previously, indicating that [O'Dell has been helping with promotion of the play "Blues For Mister Charlie" and also has been arranging theatre parties for the play.] (X)u

Sources of this Bureau whose identities are concealed in this document have furnished reliable information in the past

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

May 8, 1964

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bufile 62-108763
NYfile 100-146553

DECLASSIFIED BY AUC 94255 SAH/8

ON 2/18/99

CA97-5269

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Re: James Arthur Baldwin

James Arthur Baldwin is a Negro author who resides in Apartment 6A, 470 West End Avenue, Manhattan, New York.

James A. Baldwin was born August 2, 1924, in New York, New York. He is about five feet six inches, 130 pounds, brown eyes, black hair, dark complexion and has never married. Baldwin has written the following books: "Another Country," "GOD Tell It On The Mountain," "Notes of a Native Son," "Giovanni's Room," and "Nobody Knows My Name."

James A. Baldwin has made veiled threats as follows: the June 3, 1963 issue of "Newsweek" magazine reported an informal discussion between Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, James Baldwin and others. Baldwin told the Attorney General that he would not think of fighting for the United States if the United States got into a war but that he was thinking of getting guns and starting to shoot white people.

The November 6, 1963, issue of the "Washington Daily News" quoted Baldwin as saying - - "I wonder how long we can endure. . . Stand and not fight back." "Many. . . even members of my own family" . . . "would think nothing of picking up arms tomorrow."

On June 30, 1963, the "Miami News" reported that Baldwin warned that there are a lot of angry young people among his race and their tempers are wearing thin and that their self-control, which Negro integrationists use in their non-violence campaign for equality, is reaching the breaking point.

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" dated September 27, 1963, quoted Baldwin as saying "We must make the establishment afraid of us."

Copy to Director
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 5/19/64
by J. H. [illegible]

Classified by SP5 DJS/198
Declassify on: DATE

NOT RECORDED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Group 1

MAY 12 1964

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downgrading and
declassification

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61 MAY 21 1964

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SUB CONTROL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: James Arthur Baldwin

Sources, who have furnished reliable information in the past, have reported the following:

In 1960, James Baldwin was sponsor for Fair Play For Cuba (FPCC) committee; in 1961, he was a sponsor of the Monroe Defense Committee (MDC); in 1961, he was a sponsor for a rally for the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAHUAC); in 1963, he subscribed to Freedomways Associates, Inc., and in January, 1964, he was scheduled to participate in Freedomways Associates Forum in New York City; in 1963, the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) held an affair called An Evening With James Baldwin, the proceeds of which were to go to the NLG; in 1963, he was affiliated with the Committee to Secure Justice For Morton Sobell (CSJMS). *QW*

Characterizations of the FPCC, Freedomways Associates, Inc., MDC, NYCAHUAC, the NCAHUAC, NLG and the CSJMS are contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: James Arthur Baldwin

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1.

APPENDIX

MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

On September 26, 1961, a source made available a mimeographed letter on the stationery of the Monroe Defense Committee (MDC), 53 West 125th Street, New York City, which stated that the committee had been founded on a broad non-partisan basis to aid four individuals jailed in Monroe, North Carolina, on "trumped up kidnapping charges." This letter further stated that help was needed by members of the Afro-American community in Monroe, North Carolina, many of whom had lost their jobs or were cut off welfare rolls because of their ties with ROBERT F. WILLIAMS. According to this source, this letter, signed by CALVIN HIGGS as Executive Secretary, further stated that the committee would be organized on a strictly non-sectarian basis and was backed by Afro-American organizations as well as inter-racial groups.

On April 27, 1962, a second source advised that the MDC, formerly located at 53 West 125th Street, New York City, was then located at 110 West 116th Street, New York City.

On October 5, 1961, a public meeting of the MDC was held at the Hotel Diplomat, New York City, and a circular entitled "The Monroe Kidnapping" on the stationery of the MDC was distributed.

This circular stated that the purpose of indictments, brought by the Union County Grand Jury against ROBERT F. WILLIAMS and a group of freedom riders on charges of kidnapping a middle-aged white couple in Monroe, North Carolina, on August 27, 1961, was for the "forces of white supremacy" to rid themselves of all opposition from Afro-Americans and discredit ROBERT F. WILLIAMS.

A federal warrant was issued on August 28, 1961, at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging ROBERT FRANKLIN WILLIAMS with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: James Arthur Baldwin

2.

APPENDIX

MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

On October 13, 1961, a third source advised that the officers of the MDC were CALVIN L. HICKS, President and [] Secretary.

b6
b7c

On May 27, 1956, a fourth source, advised that CALVIN HICKS was then a Communist Party member working in the Negro mass organization field.

On October 3, 1961, a fifth source advised that during September, 1961, CALVIN HICKS said he was employed full-time as director of the On Guard Committee for Freedom (OGCF) and that he had left the Communist Party in the past because of the revisionism in the Communist Party. HICKS stated on this occasion that the MDC was set up and operated by the OGCF.

On April 20, 1961, a sixth source advised that [] was a member of and active in the Workers World Party (WWP).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: James Arthur Baldwin

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH
THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" issued December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, page 115, contains the following citation regarding the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

"Cited as a 'new organization' set up in the summer of 1960 to lead and direct the Communist Party's 'Operation Abolition' campaign. Seven of the national leaders of this group have been identified as Communists.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1278 on the Truth About the Film 'Operation Abolition,' Part 1, October 3, 1961, p. 5.)"

A source has advised that the NCAUAC changed its name on March 3, 1962, to include the word "House" in its name, thereby becoming known as the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A LITERARY CASEBOOK BY DICK SCHAEFER BEHIND THE LINESGreen for Mr. Jimmy

It reminds one, almost immediately, of an Ingemar Johansson fight camp. A few women scamper around; one of them is his sister. Males wander in and out; one of them is his brother. Telephones jangle constantly, offering deals, praises, pleas. In the middle of it all, the attention and the admiration swirling about him almost unnoticed but accepted, sits the champion, five feet and a few inches tall, maybe 135 pounds, wide-eyed, 39 years old—James Arthur Baldwin.

This is a seven-room apartment on New York's West End Avenue, in the 80s; and it is, at least temporarily, the training camp for Jimmy Baldwin. There are bookshelves and modern paintings, posters and phonographs, telephones and sliding doors, and, permeating everything, there is the same weird, unreal, reverse-face appeal that hung over a Johansson fight headquarters. Imagine! A white man who knows how to fight!

And then, in the best boxing tradition, there is the entourage, on scene and off scene. Writing is a lonely craft, and Jimmy Baldwin, with his art, is all alone—except for his lawyer, New York City Councilman Theodore Kupferman; his agent, Robert Lantz; his benefactor, Tom Michaelas; his photographer, Frank Dandridge; his song writer, Bobby Sharp; his publisher, Richard Baron; his disk jockey, Frankie (Downbeat) Brown; his minister-friend, the Rev. Sidney Lanier; and a supporting cast, changing every few months, of well-wishers, advisers and hangers-on.

And then there are Gloria Davis and Lucien Happersberger. They handle Jimmy Baldwin's money. That is, they handle most of Jimmy Baldwin's money. A suspicion persists, confirmed by some of his friends, that almost everybody handles some of Jimmy Baldwin's money, everybody but Jimmy Baldwin.

"I am impossible," says Baldwin, discussing his finances. "I am a positive

menace." He gestures toward the room where Gloria Davis struggles to keep his finances straight. "I am locked out of that office," he says.

Money is one point where the personalities of James Baldwin and Ingemar Johansson part company. The strength of Johansson's great right hand was never greater than when he wrapped his fist around a dollar bill. But Baldwin and money are a mismatch; his generosity matches Johansson's thrift. At one stage in Baldwin's career, a literary agent, Bob Mills, set up parallel checking accounts in the same bank, one the agent's, one the author's. Mills, responding to phone calls from the bank, made a habit of switching funds from one account to the other, covering uncovered checks, later explaining the complexities of banking and currency to the author.

Baldwin's own standard of living has barely fluctuated over the years—he spends as much time as he can in Spartan seclusion writing on Fire Island—but he can't help giving money away to people who need it, acquaintances, friends and relatives. ("We're not a family, we're a tribe," he says).

Mrs. Davis and Lucien Happersberger understand the problem.

"I ask them for cash from time to time," Baldwin says. "Sometimes they give it to me, and sometimes they don't."

Mrs. Davis is Baldwin's sister. "I can tell I'm solvent when she's smiling," he says.

Happersberger, a 31-year-old Swiss painter, has been Baldwin's friend—probably his closest friend—for some 14 years, since they met in a Left Bank cafe. "We have starved together in two cities," Baldwin says. "Paris and New York."

As recently as four years ago, even with three books in print, Baldwin's financial condition was shaky. He actually

feared, he told friends, that he might have to go back to running an elevator, one of several dozen jobs that have kept him writing since he was 14. ("It's easier to name the jobs I haven't had.")

The starving days are past for Jimmy Baldwin, and Mrs. Davis wears a permanent smile. Baldwin is box office now—perhaps not on Broadway, where a \$10,000 gift from two of Nelson Rockefeller's daughters helped keep Baldwin's play, *Blues for Mr. Charlie*, going—but



certainly in bookstores, where such recent Baldwin books as *The Fire Next Time*, *Another Country* and *Nobody Knows My Name* rang up best-selling figures. *The Fire Next Time* has sold 100,000 copies in hardcover; its paperback version, just out, is likely to sell five to ten times that many. All his books but *Blues* are now in paperback, and *Another Country* is nearing the 2-million mark in soft covers.

All this success, coupled with his knack for attracting well-meaning advisors, the departure last fall of Jim Silberman, Baldwin's editor at Dial

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DATE 5-17-89 BY 2088 JBT/jlg

ENCLOSURE

Book Week

"The Washington Post"
6-21-64

62-10916-27

Press, for Random House, and the merger of Dial into Dell Publishing Co., prompted talk in publishing circles that Jimmy was shopping around for a new publisher.

In fact, he was. Dial, though, was hardly anxious to let Baldwin go. Furthermore, it had him under a contract that provided for a \$15,000 annual income after advances. But Baldwin's advisors told him, in effect, Jimmy, you're worth a million dollars. This notion was confirmed when a paperback house tried to woo him from Dial by offering Baldwin a million dollars—\$50,000 a year for 20 years. The bid was never taken too seriously. "I knew it wasn't really a million dollars, with taxes and everything, you know," Baldwin says.

With new lawyers and new advisors intervening for him, Baldwin won a more liberal contract from Dial, signed in April just before the presses started turning out the book version of *Blues for Mister Charlie*. The negotiations, says Dial's Dick Baron, were cordial, and so Dial will publish at least four more Baldwin books, which might include a novel called *Talking at the Gates* (about a Southern plantation the day the news arrived that slavery had ended), a book about the F. B. I. in the South, a collection of short stories or a strictly autobiographical work. Before any of them, there will be one other book, previously committed to Atheneum—a two-man effort, Baldwin's words with Richard Avedon's pictures. The working title is, simply, *An Essay*, due next fall.

Baldwin, happy that the negotiations are over, is pleased with everybody. He doesn't sing any blues for the green. "You know," he says, logically, "the more money you make, the more you need."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 6-22-64

FROM : M. Jones

SUBJECT: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

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DATE 5-17-89 BY SP-2 SJH/STP

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

The book review section of "The Washington Post" for 6-21-64, contained an article concerning captioned individual. It stated he is contemplating at least four future books, among which will be one "about the F. B. I. in the South." These will be published by Dial Press.

The item goes on to point out that Baldwin's recent books have attracted an enormous response, ringing up best-selling figures all over the Nation. "The Fire Next Time," according to the article, sold 100,000 copies in hard-cover; its paperback version, just out, is likely to sell five to ten times that many. "Another Country" is nearing the two million mark in soft cover.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

James Arthur Baldwin is a Harlem-born Negro who resides in New York City, and who has become quite well known for his books regarding the relationship of Negroes and whites in our society.

He has been identified as a sponsor for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and is one of its prominent members.

Baldwin is also listed as one of the sponsors of The Monroe Defense Committee, a group organized as the result of a race riot in Monroe, North Carolina, on 8-27-61. This Committee has received strong support from communist publications such as the "National Guardian."

The "New York Herald Tribune" of 6-17-61, in its "Letters to the Editor" section, contained a communication signed by Baldwin and William Styron which advocated abolishment of capital punishment. This letter said, "If there were a shred of proof that the death penalty actually served to inhibit crime, that would be sufficient reason--even from the point of view of 'misguided do-gooders,' as J. Edgar Hoover calls its opponents--to maintain it." It goes on to state Mr. Hoover "is not a lawgiver, nor is there any reason to suppose him to be a particularly

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan

6 JUL 23 1964
HHA:cmk

(6)

JUL 16 1964

(Continued, page 2)

M. A. Jones to DeLoach memo
Re: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

profound student of human nature. He is a law-enforcement officer. It is appalling that in this capacity he not only opposes the trend of history among civilized nations, but uses his enormous power and prestige to corroborate the blindest and basest instincts of the retaliatory mob."

On the subject of homosexuality, Baldwin states, "American males are the only people I've ever encountered in the world who are willing to go on the needle before they'll go to bed with each other. Because they're afraid of this, they don't know how to go to bed with women either. I've known people who literally died out of this panic. I don't know what homosexual means any more, and Americans don't either... If you fall in love with a boy, you fall in love with a boy. The fact that Americans consider it a disease says more about them than it says about homosexuality."

In connection with a discussion of why he felt both Attorney General Robert Kennedy, the Justice Department and former President John F. Kennedy were ineffective in dealing with discrimination with the Negroes in the South, Baldwin said he was weary of being told desegregation is legal. He went on to say "... because first of all you have to get Eastland out of Congress and get rid of the power that he wields there. You've got to get rid of J. Edgar Hoover and the power that he wields. If one could get rid of just those two men, or modify their power, there would be a great deal more hope..."


RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

H.A.

ADDENDUM, ECK:amr 6/22/64

In that this book "about the F. B. I. in the South" is one being contemplated by Baldwin, we will follow our sources, and should the book be published, naturally it will be reviewed and you will be advised.

eck *Dech*  *✓* *TPH* *ERL*

ENCLOSURES - BUREAU (2)
ATTN: CRIME RECORDS, SA HOBSON ADCOCK

New York File 100-146553

Clipping from New York Herald Tribune, 7/14/64,
and copy of playbill.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-89 BY 888 BTJ/ap

62-108763-28

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/89 BY SP8BJJ/s

Books and Authors

James Baldwin is writing a book about the FBI and the South, which Dial Press will publish next Spring. Like "The Fire Next Time," the new work will be featured in the New Yorker before its appearance as a book. . . . Columbia University Press is commemorating 70 years of publishing in a special exhibit at Butler Library this summer. Among the authors represented are four Presidents of the United States: Wilson, Taft, Truman and Eisenhower. . . . The next book by Francoise Sagan, coming from Dutton in October, is a nonfiction work: a diary kept by the author during nine days in a special clinic undergoing disintoxication from the morphine she was given after her auto accident in 1957.

A Russian publishing firm, Detskaya Literatura, plans to publish an American juvenile about school integration in the South, "Mary Jane," by Dorothy Sterling. Mrs. Sterling's book, published here by Doubleday, was a winner of the Nancy Bloch Award for the children's book that best fosters intercultural understanding. . . . On Eugene Field's birthday, Sept. 3, Farrar, Straus and Company will publish a translation into French of his children's poem, "Wynken, Blynken and Nod," by Francis Steegmuller. In this version, the wooden-shoe sailors are named Papillot, Clignot and Dodo. Advance comments include 6½-year-old Lisa Millerand's: "The boys have beetle haircuts and night shirts. . . . It is sort of like a dream" and 5-year-old Elizabeth Epler's: "It's in French. . . . Let's give the book to Nicole."

Published tomorrow by Dutton will be Anthony Boucher's annual collection, (the 19th) of "Best Detective Stories of the Year" (284 pages, \$3.95). As usual, when the game's afoot, Mr. Boucher's questing talents and excellent taste are both in evidence, and the collection has its expected quotient of surprises, including the shortest murder story in history: Fredric Brown's 36-word "Mistake."

MAURICE DOLBIER.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

21 NY Herald Tribune

Date: 7/14/64
Edition: Late City
Author: Maurice Dolbier
Editor: James G. Bellows
Title: JAMES BALDWIN
PROPOSED BOOK
FBI - SOUTH
Character: INFO CONCERNING

or
Classification:

Submitting Office: NYO

☐ Being Investigated

Alvin
Theatre

PLAYBILL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED the magazine for theatregoers
DATE 5-17-89 BY 2080108



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charcoal granules

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LORETT & MYERS TOBACCO CO.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTN.: CRIME RECORDS, SA HOBSON ADCOCK

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146553)

SUBJECT: "THE FBI AND THE SOUTH"
BY JAMES BALDWIN
PROPOSED BOOK

DATE: 7/17/64

Book by James Baldwin

62-108763

Enclosed is a clipping from the "New York Herald Tribune" of 7/14/64, setting out that the JAMES BALDWIN book about the FBI, scheduled to be published by Dial Press next spring, will be featured in the "New Yorker" Magazine before its appearance as a book.

Also enclosed is the theater magazine "Playbill", which, on page 15, contains BALDWIN'S comments concerning a long article on the FBI and how it treats negroes. The article is to be called "The Blood-Counters", which is the negroes' nickname for the FBI.

In view of the wide publicity being given to this proposed book or article, and since the office has no established contact with either Dial Press or the "New Yorker" Magazine, no attempt is being made to obtain pre-issue copies of this proposed book.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-89 BY SP2 BTJ/KG

- ② - Bureau (Encs. 2)
1 - New York (100-146553)

MMO'R:enc
(3)

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

66 JUL 27 1964

REC-114

JUL 21 1964

CRIME RESEARCH

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 7-17-64

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-12-89 BY 20857J/af

Tolson ☒
Belmont ☒
Mohr ☒
Casper ☒
Callahan ☒
Conrad ☒
DeLoach ☒
Evans ☒
Gale ☒
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☒
Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holmes ☒
Gandy ☒

In my memorandum to you dated 6-22-64, I advised the book review section of "The Washington Post" for 6-21-64, announced captioned individual was contemplating at least four future books. Among these will be one about "the F. B. I. in the South." Our New York Office was advised and requested to make discreet checks among its publication sources in an attempt to verify this information. New York was also asked to remain alert to any possibility of securing galley proofs for the Bureau for review purposes.

The 7-14-64, edition of the "New York Herald Tribune" contained additional information concerning this matter. According to it, Baldwin's book will be published next spring; however, it will be featured in "The New Yorker" magazine prior to its publication in book form.

On 7-16-64, the New York Office telephonically advised that an interview with Baldwin appears in the current issue of "Playbill," the official program of the legitimate theater in that city. The article quotes Baldwin as telling the unidentified interviewer he will begin work soon on a long article about the manner in which Negroes are treated by the FBI. He referred to Bureau personnel as "The Blood Counters," which he claimed is the Negroes' nickname for them. New York is forwarding a copy of "Playbill" to the Bureau.

"The New Yorker" over the years has been irresponsible and unreliable with respect to references concerning the Director and the FBI. It has published articles of a satirical nature concerning FBI tours, "The FBI Story" (both the book and the movie) and crime statistics. Baldwin's book, "The Fire Next Time," appeared in the magazine before it was released in book form.

The matter of Baldwin's contemplated book about the Bureau is being closely followed and you will be kept advised of pertinent developments.

RECOMMENDATION:

ENCLOSURE None. For information.

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Sullivan

HHA:cmk (7)

64 JUL 29 1964

Letter to Mr. DeLoach memo,
7-20-64, HHA:jol.

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

CRIME RECORDS

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

Books and Authors

James Baldwin is writing a book about the FBI and the South, which Dial Press will publish next Spring. Like "The Fire Next Time," the new work will be featured in the New Yorker before its appearance as a book. . . . Columbia University Press is commemorating 70 years of publishing in a special exhibit at Butler Library this summer. Among the authors represented are four Presidents of the United States: Wilson, Taft, Truman and Eisenhower. . . . The next book by Françoise Sagan, coming from Dutton in October, is a nonfiction work: a diary kept by the author during nine days in a special clinic undergoing disintoxication from the morphine she was given after her auto accident in 1957.

The Washington Post and _____
 Times Herald _____
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star _____
 New York Herald Tribune 21 _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Mirror _____
 New York Daily News _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times _____
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 People's World _____
 Date _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/17/89 BY 8883/BJJ/afp

magazine to DeLoach memo
 62-108763-29
 10-7-64
 ENCLOSURE

JUL 14 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 7-20-64

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-89 BY 2088 BJS/laf
B. J. H. L. C. P. H. I. P. A.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

My memorandum dated 7-17-64, which concerned the captioned individual's plans for a future book about the FBI, has been returned by the Director with this question: "Isn't Baldwin a well known pervert?" It is not a matter of official record that he is a pervert; however, the theme of homosexuality has figured prominently in two of his three published novels. Baldwin has stated that it is also "implicit" in his first novel, "Go Tell It on the Mountain." In the past, he has not disputed the description of "autobiographical" being attached to this first book. E

The "New York Post" published a series of six articles about Baldwin in January, 1964. Written by Fern Marja Eckman, they were the result of a series of interviews by Mrs. Eckman with the novelist. She asked him why he used homosexuality in two of his novels and he corrected her by pointing out that all three novels contained this theme in one degree or another, using the term "implicit" in connection with the first book.

According to Mrs. Eckman, Baldwin explained the motivation for this recurrent theme in his fiction. He said there are two reasons for it, both of which are similar. He then launched into a diatribe about sex in America and actually never did state these so-called two reasons with any clarity. He says the situation he described in "Another Country" is true, only much worse than he depicted it. (Most of this novel dealt with the carnality of a group of whites and Negroes in Greenwich Village and Harlem. Included in it was one description of the homosexual deeds of a bisexual character in Paris.) Baldwin said he was exposed to all of this when he arrived in Greenwich Village as a Negro adolescent. He criticized American heterosexuality, saying it isn't sex at all but "pure desperation." He claims American homosexuality is primarily a waste which would cease to exist in effect if Americans were not so "frightened of it." He goes on to claim that Americans, Englishmen and Germans--the "Anglo-Saxons"--are the only people who talk about it. It should be noted, however, that he makes a point that it is these people, whom he calls the "Puritans" who speak of homosexuality in a "terrible way."

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Sullivan

HHA:jol (7)

64 JUL 29 1964

Continued on next page.

CRIME RESEARCH

MORE
↓

M. A. Jones to DeLoach Memo
RE: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

He then contrasts their approach with that of the Italians, stating, "In Italy, you know, men kiss each other and boys go to bed with each other. And no one is marked for life. No one imagines that--and they grow up, you know, and they have children and raise them. And no one ends up going to a psychiatrist or turning into a junkie because he's afraid of being touched."

He continues by saying that is the root of the "American" thing-- "it's not a fear of men going to bed with men. It's a fear of anybody touching anybody." Baldwin concluded this particular discussion with Mrs. Eckman by saying that Negroes were frequent targets of homosexual approaches on the part of whites because they were always looking for somebody to act out their fantasies on, and they seem to believe that Negroes know how to do "dirty things."

During this particular interview, Baldwin intimates that he has had experience in this type of activity, saying, "You wouldn't believe the holocaust that opens over your head...if you are 16 years old..." He ends by stating that they understand in Italy that people "were born to touch each other."

These remarks are similar to others Baldwin has gone on record with regarding homosexuality. While it is not possible to state that he is a pervert, he has expressed a sympathetic viewpoint about homosexuality on several occasions, and a very definite hostility toward the revulsion of the American public regarding it.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

HSA
JAW
DeLoach
✓
ENC

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 7/28/64

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (80-0) ATTENTION: CRIME RECORDS SECTIONSUBJECT: JAMES BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

The Los Angeles Civic Light Opera Edition of Playbill entitled "Curtain Call" Volume 1, No. 7, dated July, 1964 on page 36, published an interview entitled "Playwright At Work: JAMES BALDWIN." A notation by the editor of Playbill noted that JAMES BALDWIN is a "brilliant burning tiger who is probably the monarch of the current literary jungle, (who) has won international acclaim as both a major writer and as the angry conscience of a nation." The notation continues "This blunt, lonely, perceptive forty year old bachelor has created three novels, three books of essays and two plays. His latest work may be seen on Broadway in the Actors Studio's explosive production of 'Blues for Mr. Charlie.'" The notation concluded with the statement that BALDWIN recently discussed his career and views on the American theatre in a two hour interview with [redacted]

b6
b7c

For the information of the Bureau, Playbill is published monthly in Los Angeles, California; San Francisco, California; New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Washington, D. C. and Boston, Massachusetts. The Los Angeles address for Playbill is 8537 1/2 Melrose Avenue. The publisher is [redacted] whereas the editor is [redacted]

Of possible interest to the Bureau is the statement near the conclusion of the interview, page 40, wherein BALDWIN is asked "Will you write for the stage again?" to which BALDWIN replied "I will do more plays. I am now finishing a book with [redacted] on the way we now live in America. His pictures, my text - titled 'An Essay.' Then I have a long article to do on the FBI and

- 1d
② - Bureau REGISTERED
1 - New York (INFO) REGISTERED
1 - Los Angeles
JST:bjs

(4) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-89 BY 20815 JLP

REC-96

has been handled.
further action required.
62-108763-31
AUG 4 1964
CRIME RESEARCH

64 AUG 7 1964

LA 62-0

how it treats Negroes. It will be called 'The Blood Counters' which is the Negroes nickname for the FBI. After that, perhaps a play."

The foregoing is being furnished for the information of the Bureau.

PT
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-17-89 BY 283 BTJ/afp

**RACE WAR FORESEEN
BY JAMES BALDWIN**

HAMBURG, Germany, July 28 (UPI) — James Baldwin, the American Negro writer, warned Sunday that the racial crisis in the United States might explode into a civil war between Negroes and whites.

Mr. Baldwin accused the Federal Bureau of Investigation of collusion with Southern sheriffs and dismissed as unimpressive the civil rights record of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

Mr. Baldwin, in an interview with the West German news magazine Der Spiegel, said Negroes in Harlem and in the South had "hoarded weapons for years and for only one purpose: that's the day of unavoidable bloody conflict."

The author of "The Fire Next Time," whose theme is that the United States must solve its racial crisis or be plunged into civil war, said he thought "the fire has started."

"It will get worse before we can hope it will get better. The turning point may be disaster," he said.

Did Mr. Baldwin mean civil war? the interviewer asked.

"Yes, absolute social and moral chaos," Mr. Baldwin replied.

"The Negro situation in North and South can only be changed by power. And the vote would be this power. The only power we now have is economic power, negative power," he said.

X
Heating
Rochester
P. 10/10/64
Shelton
me 10/10/64
W. L. L. L.
(last)

Feb-5-22W

New York Times

7-28-64

P13

62-108763-A

NOT RECORDED
191 AUG 14 1964

69 AUG 17 1964

SAC, Philadelphia

7/29/64

9 REG-93

Director, FBI

~~62-108763-30~~
62-108763-30

1 - Mr. Simpson

JAMES BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

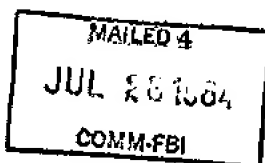
There are enclosed two copies of a postal card addressed to the Bureau which was postmarked New York, New York, 7/22/64 and signed merely "Loyal Citizen."

It is noted that the postal card contains a return address in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia Office is accordingly instructed to make limited inquiries to attempt to determine the identity of the individual who directed this postal card to the Bureau. In the event he can be readily identified, he should be interviewed to determine if he is in possession of any information of interest and/or value to the Bureau.

This matter must be expeditiously handled and the results promptly submitted to the Bureau. It is not contemplated by the Bureau that the Philadelphia Office should expend considerable time and manpower in identifying the writer of this communication but inquiries should be made at the address given.

Enclosures - 2

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-18-89 BY SP8 BTJ/sg



RDS:rbm

(4)

60 AUG 6 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATIONS

SIRS:

TROTSKYITES ARE BEHIND HARLEM RIOTS.

SOME ARE FOREIGN, IMMIGRANT TROTSKYITES MARRIED TO U.S. CITIZENS.

A NUMBER OF NEGROID JEWS RESEMBLING CASTRO ARE INVOLVED.

ALSO, JAS. BALDWIN, FEATURED BY "THE MILITANT" IS RESPONSIBLE. HE INTERVIEWED ATTORNEY GENERAL KENNEDY BEFORE THE ASSASSINATION AND STARTED IT ALL.
LOYAL CITIZEN

(2 on
yellow)

62-108763-32

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/89 BY 2385 D/P

REC-9

JUL 31 1964

CORRESPONDENCE

7/28/64

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AIRTEL

DECLASSIFIED BY ADG 94255/BAH
ON 2/19/99
CA97-5269

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-358916)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-91330)

SUBJECT: HUNTER PITTS O'DELL
IS - C
(OO: NY)

Classified by 275 205/100
Declassify on: OADR 5-17-89

The following information was furnished by [redacted]
[NY 4171-S* on 7/24/64:] (X)U

On 7/24/64, [redacted]
[redacted] in whose apartment O'DELL resides, contacted
[redacted] (LNU). From the information furnished by this
source [redacted] appears to be a writer. [redacted] at one point
commented that "my play is supposed to be in Connecticut
around Oct. 1st", and, when questioned by [redacted] said it
is named "In A Military Manner". (X)U

[redacted]
[redacted]
She also discussed other places they visited in Mississippi,
and deplored the conditions that exist there for Negroes. (X)U

- (5) Bureau (RM)
 - (1-100-3-116) (CPUSA NEGRO QUESTION)
 - (1-100-108763) (JAMES BALDWIN)
- 2-Atlanta (100-6078) (Info) (RM)
 - (1-100-5586) (M. L. KING)
- 1-New Orleans (Info) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-146553) (JAMES BALDWIN) (45)
- 1-New York (100-151548) (CPUSA NEGRO QUESTION) (42)
- 1-New York

JJK:mbj
(12)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

65 100-7113-
NOT RECORDED
29 AUG 12 1964

6 4 AUG 19 1964

NY 100-91330

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

(X)U [REDACTED] stated that, according to [REDACTED] the FBI (agents) are terrible, are mostly southerners, and are a farce. [REDACTED] continued, "she said that anyone who tells you that the FBI is really interested in Mississippi and civil rights, they're full of junk. And so while she was here she met (JAMES) BALDWIN. And from her experiences in prison and the FBI, he is in the process now of writing an article for the 'New Yorker' about the FBI. I forgot what he called it." (X)U

[REDACTED] said he heard about it "that's going to be a real bombshell". [REDACTED] replied that she was "dying to see it" and then stated that [REDACTED] who lives here with us, he's very close to BALDWIN. In fact he's the public relations man for the play, 'Blues For Mr. Charlie' and he used to be the fund raiser for Doctor KING. He's writing a book now. I tell you I'm with some literary people. My husband writes very well. He's had several things published in 'Freedomways'. He's afraid now. One story that he had published was published in Red China. We got a letter from there about a month ago praising him for this article. He was so shocked. And they printed it behind the Iron Curtain in Russia. He got a letter from some man in Russia telling about how much he enjoyed his story." (X)U

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] asked what the name of the article was and [REDACTED] said it was "Disenfranchisement or something like that", that it concerned Negro voting in the South. [REDACTED] further stated that when "he" received the letter from Peking it was opened by the postal authorities and marked "opened by U.S. mail". She said "he" was surprised. She added that the letter was in Chinese so they had to find someone who could translate it and that the letter from Russia was in Russian. [REDACTED] continued "and JACK writes very well. He's writing a book now", adding that he has a publisher, that it is going to be published in London, and some other country besides the US. (X)U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-91330

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

It is possible that [] in referring to her [] was referring to HUNTER PITTS O'DELL since O'DELL has been handling public relations for BALDWIN for "Blues For Mr. Charlie" and had worked for MARTIN LUTHER KING handling fund appeals. (X)U

b6
b7C

It is noted that [] stated that her husband had several things published in "Freedomways" and that [] was the author of a short story "Enfranchisement" in the spring, 1962 issue of "Freedomways" (X)U

The JACK referred to by [] is undoubtedly O'DELL since he is known as JACK O'DELL. (X)U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 8/10/64

SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-47606) (C)

JAMES BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/13/89 BY SP8/SJS/ab

ReBulet 7/29/64 with enclosures.

A check of the Philadelphia criss-cross telephone directory reflects the address 1520 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa., is listed to the Touraine Apartments with numerous telephone subscribers. None of the subscribers could be readily identified with the initials T. V. which appeared in the return address of postal card directed to the Bureau, copies of which were furnished this office by relet.

On 8/3/64 [redacted] Touraine Apartments, 1520 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, advised SA [redacted] that a check of records that office failed to reveal either a tenant or employee identifiable with the initials T. V. This check included former tenants and employees at this address who left during the past four months. [redacted] stated that the abbreviation R'srvt'n has no significance at the Touraine Apartments inasmuch as no reservation desk, as such, is maintained.

b6
b7C

[redacted] stated that there are approximately 450 tenants and employees at the Touraine Apartments.

The JAMES BALDWIN referred to assumed to be the well known Negro author, who is understood to be headquartered at New York City.

2 - Bureau
1 - Philadelphia (100-47606)

JHN/JLB
(3)

EX-101

1 AUG 11 1964



84 AUG 17 1964

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

PH 100-47606

In view of the above information, no further investigation to identify the individual who directed postal card to Bureau will be conducted by this office UACB.

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 30, 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Stark
1 - Mr. H. H. Adcock
1 - Mr. Phillips
1 - Mr. Rosen

DECLASSIFIED BY 60244255/SAH/BL
ON 2/19/99

New York has advised that during a discussion between [redacted] and an unknown individual, [redacted] discussed a forthcoming article by James Arthur Baldwin which will appear in the "New Yorker." According to [redacted] this article is "about the FBI" and is based upon information furnished to Baldwin [redacted]

[redacted] remarked that [redacted] described FBI Agents in Mississippi as "terrible, mostly southerners, and a farce," and she quoted Ponder as saying "Anyone who tells you the FBI is really interested in Mississippi and civil rights is full of junk." (X)u

b6
b7C

The individual to whom [redacted] was talking said that he had heard about the "New Yorker" article and he commented it is going to be a real bombshell. The rest of the conversation dealt with articles written by [redacted] which appeared in "Freedomways" magazine and with the fact that Hunter Pitts O'Dell, who lives with the [redacted] is also writing a book which will be published in the United States, England, and in another country. The subject matter of this book was not mentioned. (X)u

b6
b7C

James Arthur Baldwin is the well-known Negro novelist and writer who has become increasingly active in recent months in the Negro civil rights movement. He has been associated with several Communist Party front organizations and has had considerable contact with members of the Communist Party, USA. Baldwin is on the Security Index.

100-258916

62-108763

HRB:bge

(12)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

62-108763 -

NOT RECORDED

29 AUG 12 1964

Classified by 60244255/SAH/BL

Declassify on 01/01/99

64 AUG 19 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3528916-295

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
Re: HUNTER PIETS O'DELL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: MR. ALANUS WATKINS
107-77016
00-103708

Hunter Piets O'Dell has had a lengthy history of Communist Party membership and activity and was associated with Reverend Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference until his Communist Party background was made public. O'Dell is on the Security Index.

[redacted]
[redacted] in whose apartment O'Dell resides.

b6
b7C

COMMENTS:

The fact that James Arthur Baldwin is writing a book about the SNCC in the South has been known to the Bureau, as well as the fact that the book would be featured in the "New Yorker" prior to its publication in book form. The book will be published by Dial Press.

The "New Yorker" has over the years been irresponsible and unreliable with respect to references concerning the Director and the SNCC. New York has previously been instructed to follow the publication of this book and to remain alert to any possibility of securing galley proofs for the Bureau.

ACTION:

The matter of Baldwin's contemplated book about the SNCC in the South is being closely followed and you will be kept advised of pertinent developments.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 8-5-64

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

FD 205 NY 3-26-65
w/pt w/ 35 4-7-65
347

The New York Office has telephonically advised that one of its contacts in the publishing field has expressed the belief it may be possible to secure the galley of captioned individual's "The Blood Counters." As you are aware, this is the book that is to be based on the FBI and the South, and all current information regarding it indicates it will be an attack against the Bureau. New York's source expects to secure the proofs in November or December, 1964, and will make them available immediately.

This matter is being closely followed, and you will be kept advised of pertinent developments.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/1/89 BY 2083 J/gp

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan

HHA:cmk
(5)

REC-38

62-108763-34

AUG 11 1964

EX-102

CRIME RESEARCH

70 AUG 17 1964

CONFIDENTIAL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE APR 6 1965	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/30 - 3/30/65
TITLE OF CASE JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN		REPORT MADE BY ROBERT E. BOWE	TYPED BY etd
		CHARACTER OF CASE SM - C	

REFERENCE

DECLASSIFIED BY AUC 39677 SAH/8
 ON 5/31/2000
CA 97-5269

New York.

Report of SA JAMES D. BRODY dated 3/26/64, at

CLASSIFIED BY AUC 39677 SAH/8
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X (U)
CA 97-5269

ADMINISTRATIVE

One extra copy of the attached report is being furnished to the Bureau for dissemination to Secret Service. One copy has been disseminated to Secret Service locally under category 3.

Photo
 CC TO: Labors
 REQ. REC'D 2-22-68
 JUL 29 1968
 AND
 BY: B. V. H.

APPROVED

S MADE:

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

- 5 - Bureau (62-108763) (RM)
 1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)
 1 - New York (100-146553)

11 APR 8 1965

REC-109

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

R.D.	23	21	USA
4.2.65	3.2.5.6	4.1.65	4.1.65
4.1.65	4.1.65	4.1.65	4.1.65
4.1.65	4.1.65	4.1.65	4.1.65

NOTATIONS**CONFIDENTIAL**

SUBV CONTROL

NY 100-146553

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

The pretext utilized by SA ROBERT E. BOWE on 3/23/65, to verify the subject's residence consisted of an attempt to locate an individual named BEHRINGER who resided in the subject's building. During the conversation between the agent and the superintendent-doorman, the latter advised that the subject resides in Apartment 6 at 470 West End Avenue and is well known in the building as an author and playwright.

The Los Angeles Civic Light Opera Edition of Playbill entitled "Curtain Call" Volume 1, No. 7, dated July, 1964, on page 36, published an interview entitled "Playwright At Work: JAMES BALDWIN." A notation by the editor of Playbill noted that JAMES BALDWIN is a "brilliant burning tiger who is probably the monarch of the current literary jungle, (who) has won international acclaim as both a major writer and as the angry conscience of a nation." The notation continues "This blunt, lonely, perceptive forty year old bachelor has created three novels, three books of essays and the two plays. His latest work may be seen on Broadway in the Actors Studio's explosive production of 'Blues for Mr. Charlie.'" The notation concluded with the statement that BALDWIN recently discussed his career and views on the American theatre in a two hour interview.

It is to be noted that in the interview mentioned above wherein the subject was asked, "Will you write for the stage again?" BALDWIN replied, "I will do more plays. I am now finishing a book with [redacted] on the way we now live in America. His pictures, my text-entitled 'An Essay'. Then I have a long article to do on the FBI and how it treats Negroes. It will be called, 'The Blood Counters', which is the Negroes nickname for the FBI. After that, perhaps a play."

Information pertaining to the subject's name being in the possession of the "China Daily News" in September, 1964, has been paraphrased in this report in order to protect the source.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COVER PAGE

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NY 100-146553

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INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-1
[NY 4171-S*] (X)u

NY T-2
[redacted] (X)u

NY T-3
[redacted]

NY T-4
[redacted]

NY T-5
[redacted]

NY T-6
[redacted] (X)u

NY T-7
[redacted] (X)u

NY T-8
[redacted]

A) [redacted]

A) [redacted]

100-107419-1B187 (15)

1) [redacted] (X)u

A) [redacted]

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Negative Contact with Informants

The listed confidential informants of the NYO who are familiar with certain phases of CP and/or racial activity in the New York City area advised during February and March, 1965, that they had no information pertaining to the subject:

[redacted] (X)u
(X)u
(X)u

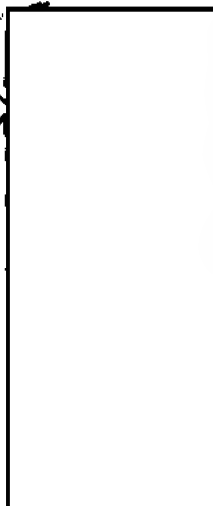
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NY 100-146553

INFORMANTS CONT'D



(X)U
XU
XU
XU

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1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
6. ☒ This report is classified confidential because (state reason) of information furnished by NY T-1 through NY T-7, the unauthorized disclosure of which could reveal these sources of continuing value which would be detrimental to the national defense interests of the United States.
7. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____
☒ Subject was not interviewed because (state reason) _____ of his prominent position as a Negro author and his personal involvement in the civil rights struggles by the Negroes in the United States as well as his implied dislike for the FBI is evidenced by the fact it has been stated he is planning to write a book criticizing the FBI on its activity in the civil rights field in the South. It is felt
8. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
9. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of the subject's outspoken stand on the civil rights issue, his current prominence as an author and the inflammatory nature of his writings which show him to be a dangerous individual who could be expected to commit acts inimical to the national defense and public safety of the United States in time of emergency.
10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.
☐ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons)

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NY 100-146553

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7. CONT'D

that an attempt to interview BALWIN, if publicized, could be a source of embarrassment to the Bureau.

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**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

Copy to:

1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Report of:

ROBERT E. BOWE

Office:

New York, New York

Date:

APR 6 1965

Field Office File No.:

100-146553 ✓

Bureau File No. 62-108763 ✓

Title:

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

Character:

SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis:

Subject resides at 470 West End Avenue, New York, New York, and is an author and playwright. [Subject is associate of HUNTER PITTS O'DELL in promotion work for subject's play.] Subject was sponsor of Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants in February, 1964. ✓ Subject spoke before Emergency Civil Liberties Committee dinner in December, 1963. ✓ Subject wrote article appearing in Spring, 1964 issue of "Freedomways". ✓

DECLASSIFIED BY AUC94255SAH/8

ON 2/19/99

CA97-5269

DETAILS

Classified by 6972/EEP/08
Declassify on: OADR
89-30/63H/0-27-90

Classified by 202/015/08
Declassify on: OADR
5-12-89
292205

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GROUP 1 Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

35

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NY 100-146553

I. BACKGROUND

Residence and Employment

On March 23, 1965, it was determined by a pretext conducted by a Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) that JAMES BALDWIN, Negro Author and Playwright, resides in Apartment 6 at 470 West End Avenue, New York, New York.

On April 23, 1964, NY T-1 advised that the subject's play, "Blues for Mr. Charlie" was scheduled to open on April 23, 1964, at the Anta Theatre, 252 West 52nd Street, New York City.

In June, 1964, NY T-1 advised that the subject's play, "Blues for Mr. Charlie" which opened on April 23, 1964, was scheduled to close in June, 1964.

The "New York Herald Tribune" edition of July 14, 1964, contained an article which stated that a book about the FBI by JAMES BALDWIN was scheduled to be published by Dial Press in the Spring of 1965. This article also stated that this book will be featured in the "New Yorker" magazine before it appears as a book.

II. ASSOCIATION WITH COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) MEMBERS

On April 5, 1964, NY T-1 advised that JAMES BALDWIN was in contact with HUNTER PITTS O'DELL in early April, 1964. NY T-1 was unable to determine the purpose of this contact between O'DELL and the subject. (X)u

NY T-2 advised in July, 1962, that as of July, 1962, HUNTER PITTS O'DELL was considered by the CPUSA as being a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

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NY 100-146553

In April, 1964, NY T-1 advised that HUNTER PITTS O'DELL was doing the promotion work for JAMES BALDWIN's play, "Blues for Mr. Charlie". (X) U

On April 20, 1964, NY T-1 advised that the subject was in contact with HUNTER PITTS O'DELL in April, 1964, in New York City regarding the subject's play, "Blues for Mr. Charlie" scheduled to open on Broadway, New York City, on April 23, 1964. (X) U

On May 3, 1964, NY T-1 advised that the subject was in contact with HUNTER PITTS O'DELL in early May, 1964. (X) U

On June 9, 1964, NY T-1 advised that the subject was in contact with HUNTER PITTS O'DELL in early June, 1964, regarding the subject's play "Blues for Mr. Charlie". (X) U

III. AFFILIATION WITH
SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS
AND PUBLICATIONS

China Daily News

A characterization of the China Daily News is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

On September 2, 1964, NY T-3 advised that the subject's name was in the possession of the China Daily News in September, 1964.

Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants

A characterization of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

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NY 100-146553

On February 17, 1964, NY T-4 and on February 18, 1964, NY T-5 advised that at a meeting of the Chicago Branch, Socialist Workers Party, held on February 16, 1964, in Chicago, Illinois, it was stated that the subject was a sponsor of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants as of February, 1964.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

A characterization of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

On April 16, 1964, NY T-6 made available a copy of the February-March, 1964 issue of "Rights" distributed by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) which contained portions of a speech given by the subject at an ECLC Bill of Rights dinner held in December, 1963, in New York City.

"Freedomways"

A characterization of "Freedomways" is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

The Spring, 1964 issue of "Freedomways", Volume 4, Number 2, self-described as "a quarterly review of the Negro freedom movement", published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York, New York, contains an article entitled, "What Price Freedom" by JAMES BALDWIN.

The New York School for Marxist Studies

A characterization of the New York School for Marxist Studies is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

NY 100-146553

Negative Contacts With Informants

Confidential informants who are familiar with certain phases of Communist Party activity or hate groups in the New York City area advised during February and March, 1965, that they had no information pertaining to the subject.

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On March 19, 1964, NY T-7 and on March 24, 1964, NY T-8 advised that at a forum sponsored by the New York School for Marxist Studies, held on March 17, 1964, at 853 Broadway, New York City, [redacted] who spoke on the topic, "Where Is American Literature Going?", remarked that there should be more writers like JAMES BALDWIN and heaped praise on BALDWIN.

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"The Worker" dated March 15, 1964, in its masthead identified [redacted] as being a member of the Editorial Staff of that publication.

"The Worker" is an east coast Communist newspaper.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The August 2, 1964 edition of the "New York Post", a daily newspaper published at New York, New York, contained an article written by the subject on the Harlem riots which had occurred in New York City during the summer of 1964. In this article, BALDWIN set forth the reasons which he felt caused the riots by Negroes in Harlem. The lead to this article noted that it had been written by the subject in Paris, France, where he was then writing a new novel and had been sent directly to the "New York Post".

The "New Crusader", Chicago, Illinois, weekly edition dated September 15, 1964, contained an article captioned, "BALDWIN Will Quit US If GOLDWATER Wins." In this article, the subject, who was interviewed in Paris, France, on an unspecified date by a West Berlin newspaper, stated that he would emigrate from the United States if BARRY GOLDWATER, nominated as a Republican candidate for President of the United States was elected President.

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APPENDIX

CHINA DAILY NEWS

On May 19, 1964, a source advised that the "China Daily News" (CDN) was founded in 1940 by a group of Chinese Communists and that the persons who controlled its policies from then to the present time have all been known to him as Chinese Communist leaders within the Chinese Communist movement in the New York area.

[redacted] of the CDN stated on October 30, 1962, that the people in the Chinese Community consider the CDN to be in favor of the Chinese Communists, and he now believes that they are correct. He stated that he and many other Chinese began reading the CDN because it reprinted stories from the homeland. He conceded that most of these stories favored the Chinese Communists.

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The CDN, on December 29, 1962, contained an article on page 1 which stated that the financial situation has become more acute in recent days, and in order to operate it was necessary to economize. The article also stated that the CDN would only be published twice weekly, on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Another source has advised during 1963 and 1964 that the CDN receives current news releases from the China News Service. The news releases are from Peking, Shanghai, and Canton, China.

On February 16, 1955, the CDN paid a fine of \$25,000.00, and [redacted] began serving a one-year prison sentence after conviction in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, for a violation of the Trading with the Enemy Act, in connection with the paper's printing of advertisements for Chinese Communist banks which sought to induce Chinese in the United States to send money to Communist China. [redacted] died on December 14, 1958.

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APPENDIX

COMMITTEE TO AID THE
MONROE DEFENDANTS

A source advised on October 10, 1961, that the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD) was formed during September, 1961, by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in New York City.

Source advised on May 6, 1964, that the aims of the CAMD were to afford financial support and counsel for ROBERT F. WILLIAMS and four other defendants who were involved in a racial incident on August 27, 1961, at Monroe, North Carolina. The SWP hoped to dramatize this incident nationally and internationally through the CAMD and thus attract individuals to the SWP aims and principles by playing a leading role in the integration struggle. The CAMD was also active in promoting the philosophy of utilizing counter-violence to achieve integration as espoused by WILLIAMS.

According to the source, the organization and impetus of CAMD activities throughout the various parts of the United States, such as obtaining sponsors and the raising of funds, were the results of the efforts of various SWP branches.

The March 23, 1964, issue of "The Militant," a weekly SWP newspaper, stated the CAMD suspended activities. This article related that this action was taken following the rejection of this committee by the defendants just prior to the trial held February 18-23, 1964, at Monroe, North Carolina, which resulted in the conviction of all of the defendants, except ROBERT F. WILLIAMS.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS has fled the United States and is reportedly residing in Cuba.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1964, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

On May 25, 1961, another source advised that "Freedomways" was set up for the CPUSA by JAMES JACKSON, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

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APPENDIX

NEW YORK SCHOOL FOR MARXIST STUDIES

In September, 1960, a source advised it was announced at a meeting of the Communist Party, United States of America, (CP, USA), New York District (NYD), Staff, held September 16, 1960, that the People's School for Marxist Studies was founded in September, 1960, as the result of a decision of the CP, USA, NYD. Adult classes were scheduled to start October 17, 1960.

"The Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper, October 16, 1960, issue, announced the opening of the New York School for Marxist Studies (NYSMS) with general classes beginning October 17, 1960, and Student Committee on Progressive Education (SCOPE) (Youth) Classes beginning October 14, 1960. The address of the School is Room 1922, 853 Broadway at 14th Street, New York, New York.

The records of Pierce Mayer & Greer, 41 East 42nd Street, New York City, reflect that on August 29, 1960, HERBERT APTHEKER leased Room 1922-23, 853 Broadway, New York City, for the period starting October 1, 1960. The premises were to be occupied by a "People's School." On July 3, 1962, HERBERT APTHEKER signed a new lease for Room 1922-23, 853 Broadway, New York City, to start October 1, 1962, which reflects that the premises were to be used as an office for the NYSMS.

During April and May, 1964, a second source furnished information that the NYSMS was then in operation at 853 Broadway, New York, New York.

A third source advised on December 14, 1959, that at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, held December 10 - 13, 1959, HERBERT APTHEKER was elected a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

The May, 1963, issue of "Political Affairs," self-described as the theoretical organ of the CP, USA, reflects that HERBERT APTHEKER has been replaced as editor of that publication after holding this position for several years.

A characterization of SCOPE is included in the appendix.

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APPENDIX

STUDENT COMMITTEE ON
PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION (SCOPE)

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A source advised on June 16, 1958, that the Student Committee on Progressive Education (SCOPE) was formed in early 1958, by a group of individuals who were believed to be, by the source, sympathizers of the former Labor Youth League (LYL).

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A second source advised on November 20, 1958, that at the third day's session of the National Executive Committee (NEC), Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), held that day in New York City, ROBERT THOMPSON, Executive Secretary, CP, USA, stated that in New York there is a group of about twenty-one youths who have been a very active force in youth and formed a group called SCOPE, a Student Committee On Progressive Education, which has run for the last year with young people with a Marxist character. THOMPSON stated that approximately eight or ten of this group are CP members.

A third source advised on March 24, 1959, that during a meeting of the NEC, CP, USA, held on March 21, 1959, HYMAN LUMER, CP, USA Educational Director, stated that in New York most of the discussions on youth are between the National Office (CP) and two groups of young people who function in New York, which are either Party groups or pro-Party groups. The first group is called SCOPE (Student Committee on Progressive Education), and this group stands closest to the CP leadership.

A fourth source made available on March 23, 1961, a mimeographed letter signed by "The SCOPE Committee." This letter sets forth that last fall SCOPE became a part of the newly formed New York School for Marxist Studies (NYSMS) as its autonomous youth division.

The Winter (January 30, 1964 - March 6, 1964) Term 1964 Bulletin of the NYSMS states that SCOPE "believes that knowledge can be achieved and intellectual conformity and apathy avoided only through continual study and discussion. All students are encouraged to participate actively, as the goal of SCOPE is to provide a unique opportunity for the study and discussion of Marxism."

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APPENDIX

2.

STUDENT COMMITTEE ON
PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION (SCOPE)

On May 13, 1964, a fifth source advised that SCOPE continues to share the office space in Room 1922, 853 Broadway, New York City, with the NYSMS.

A characterization of the NYSMS is included in the appendix.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

APR 6 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title James Arthur Baldwin ✓

CharacterSecurity Matter - C

Reference is made to report of Special Agent
Robert E. Bowe dated and captioned
as above. ✓

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Evans _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

Baldwin Will Quit U.S. If Goldwater Wins

BERLIN — James Baldwin has vowed he will emigrate to another country if Senator Barry Goldwater is elected President of the United States.

At the same time, he denounced the American Black Muslim movement and racial violence in the United States.

Baldwin discussed the American racial problem in an interview given in Paris to the West Berlin newspaper Spandauer Volkstblatt.

The newspaper bannerlined the interview on the front page under the headline "Harlem Is A Ghetto."

Asked for his opinion of Goldwater's nomination as the Republican candidate for President the

Negro writer, said, "That is a scandal for the United States. I do not believe in saying too much, but the San Francisco convention showed what the nation really thinks of us 20 million Negroes."

"It was a bitter lesson. If he becomes president I will emigrate. And I would not be the only one to do so."

Asked if he would support President Johnson's campaign for reelection, Baldwin replied, "As much as it is in my power to do so."

Baldwin condemned the Black Muslims as the Negro equivalent to the Ku Klux Klan.

"I have nothing in common with them," he said. "It is criminal to want to solve the (racial) problem with force. Only mutual understanding can help here. No race is superior to another. To try and reverse the present relationship is to drive out the devil with Beelzebub."

Baldwin said Negroes regretted more than anyone the recent outburst of violence and looting in northern cities.

"Such demonstrations always and everywhere are used by dark elements for their criminal goals," he said. "And not only by Negroes. Look at what happened in Europe during the depression."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

THE NEW CRUSADER
15 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 9-26-64
Edition: WEEKLY

Author:

Editor:

BALM L. LEAVELL

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/18/89 BY 008 BTP/afg

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